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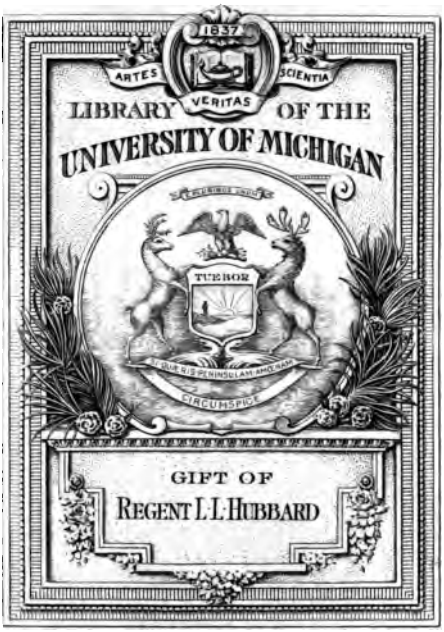
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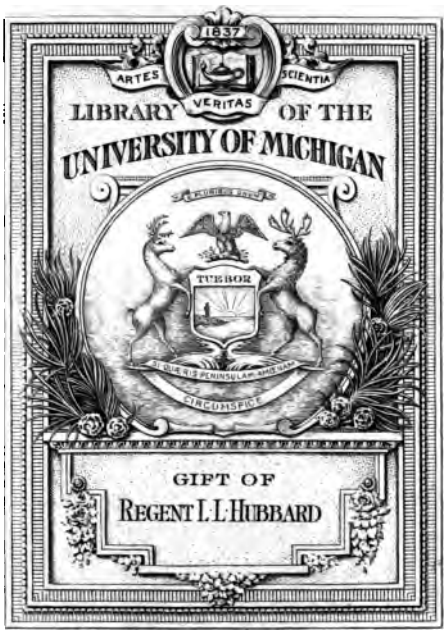
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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr *JONATHAN SWIFT*

DEAN of ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME X.

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MEMOIRS

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY, in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, M,DCC,XIV.

HAVING continued, for near the ſpace of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the miniſtry then in being, although not with ſo much power as was believed, or at leaſt given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, eſpecially the latter, in both houſes of parliament: And this having happened during a very buſy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, ſome years hence, when the preſent ſcene ſhall have given place to many new ones that will ariſe, be an entertainment to thoſe who will have any perſonal regard for me or my memory, to ſet down ſome particularities which fell under my knowledge and obſervation, while I was ſuppoſed, whether truly or no, to have part in the ſecret of affairs.

One circumſtance I am a little ſorry for, that I was too negligent (againſt what I had always reſolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it paſſed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thouſand inſtances, of the weakneſs of my memory. But, to ſay the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the leſs he thinks them of conſequence, or worth regarding. And thoſe kind of paſſages, which I have with curioſity found or ſearched for in Memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to m

from the firſt hand, or were ſuch wherein I acted myſelf. This I take to be one among other reaſons why great miniſters ſeldom give themſelves the trouble of recording the important parts of that adminiſtration, where they themſelves are at the head. They have extinguiſhed all that vanity which uſually poſſeſſes men during their firſt acquaintance at courts; and, like the maſters of a puppet-ſhow, they deſpiſe thoſe motions which fill common ſpectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the courſe of affairs during the time I was either truſted or employed; I am deceived, if in hiſtory there can be found any period more full of paſſages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the ſecret ſprings of; or, from whence more uſeful inſtructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of thoſe, who ſhall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in buſineſs of the ſtate.

It may probably enough happen, that thoſe who ſhall at any time hereafter peruſe theſe papers, may think it not ſuitable to the nature of them, that, upon occaſion, I ſometimes make mention of myſelf; who, during theſe tranſactions, and ever ſince, was a perſon without titles or public employment. But, ſince the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleaſed in both houſes of parliament to take every opportunity of ſhewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the ſecret of all affairs, and without whoſe advice or privity, nothing was done, or employment diſpoſed of, it will not perhaps, be improper to take notice of ſome paſſages, wherein the public and myſelf were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cauſe of giving myſelf this trouble, is to ſatisfy my particular friends; and, at worſt, if, after the fate of manuſcripts, theſe papers ſhall, by accident or indiſcretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to cenſure than other memoirs, publiſhed for many years paſt, in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian*. The period of time I deſign to treat on, will commence with *September* 1710, from which time, till within two months of the Queen's death,

death, I was never abſent from court, except about ſix weeks in *Ireland*.

But, becauſe the great change of employments in her Majeſty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun ſome months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr *Sacheverel*'s trial, while I was abſent, and lived retired in *Ireland*; I ſhall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, ſome particulars I learned from the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, the Lady *Maſham*, and Doctor *Atterbury*, who were beſt able to inform me.

I have often with great earneſtneſs preſſed the Earl of *Oxford*, then Lord Treaſurer, and my Lady *Maſham*, who were the ſole perſons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumſtance and paſſage during that whole tranſaction: Nor did this requeſt proceed from curioſity, or the ambition of knowing and publiſhing important ſecrets; but, from a ſincere honeſt deſign of juſtifying the Queen, in the meaſures ſhe then took, and after purſued, againſt a load of ſcandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with ſome appearance of truth. It was eaſy to foreſee, even at that diſtance, that the Queen could not live many years; and it was ſufficiently known, what party was moſt in the good graces of the ſucceſſors; and, conſequently, what turns would be given by hiſtorians to her Majeſty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary meaſures would probably be taken. For inſtance, what would be more eaſy to a malicious pen, than to charge the Queen with inconſtancy, weakneſs, and ingratitude, in removing and diſgracing the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had ſo many years commanded her armies with victory and ſucceſs; in diſplacing ſo many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whoſe counſels ſhe had in all appearance ſo proſperouſly governed; in extending the marks of her ſeverity and diſpleaſure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that perſon ſhe had ſo long employed and ſo highly truſted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be ſuppoſed to have acted that bold part, only from a mo-

tive of revenge upon the loſs of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

Theſe were ſome of the arguments I often made uſe of with great freedom, both to the Earl of *Oxford* and my Lady *Maſham*, to incite them to furniſh me with materials for a fair account of that great tranſaction, to which they always ſeemed as well diſpoſed as myſelf. My Lady *Maſham* did likewiſe aſſure me, that ſhe had frequently informed the Queen of my requeſt, which her Majeſty thought very reaſonable, and did appear upon all occaſions as deſirous of preſerving reputation with poſterity, as might juſtly become a great Prince to be.

But, that incurable diſeaſe, either of negligence or procraſtination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the Earl of *Oxford*, did in ſome ſort infect every one who had credit or buſineſs in court: For, after ſolliciting near four years, to obtain a point of ſo great importance to the Queen and her ſervants, from whence I could propoſe nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myſelf, it was perpetually put off.

The ſcheme I offered was, to write her Majeſty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the hiſtoriographer's place, although of inconſiderable value, and which I might be ſure to be deprived upon the Queen's death.

This negligence in the Queen, the Earl of *Oxford*, and my Lady *Maſham*, is the cauſe that I can give but an imperfect account of the firſt ſprings of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not ſerving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I ſhall here ſet down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a perſon who underſtood more artificially to diſguiſe her paſſions than the late Queen. Upon her firſt coming to the throne, the Ducheſs of *Marlborough* had loſt all favour with her, as her Majeſty hath often acknowledged to thoſe who have told it me. That Lady had long preſerved an aſcendant over her Miſtreſs, while ſhe was Princeſs, which her Majeſty, when ſhe came to the

wn, had neither patience to bear, nor ſpirit to ſub-

due.

due. This Princeſs was ſo exact an obſerver of forms, that ſhe ſeemed to have made it her ſtudy, and would often deſcend ſo low, as to obſerve, in her domeſticks of either ſex, who came in her preſence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unſuitable at certain times. The Ducheſs, on the other ſide, who had been uſed to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of ſtation ſhould put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offenſive to her Majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, of the greateſt quality, did then treat her with the utmoſt reſpect.

The Earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard ſeveral reaſons given for her Majeſty's early diſguſt againſt that Lord. The Ducheſs, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to ſollicit the Queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her Majeſty liked the worſe, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his Lordſhip, although he endeavoured to be as reſpectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occaſions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhe was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his reſtleſs, impatient behaviour had turned her againſt him.

The Queen had not a ſtock of amity to ſerve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which ſhe ſoon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, ſhe could hardly be ſaid either to love or to hate any body. She grew ſo jealous upon the change of her ſervants, that often, out of fear of being impoſed upon, by an over caution, ſhe would impoſe upon herſelf; ſhe took a delight in refuſing thoſe who were thought to have greateſt power with her, even in the moſt reaſonable things, and ſuch as were neceſſary for her ſervice; nor would let them be done till ſhe fell into the humour of it herſelf.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her Majeſty had gradually conceived a moſt rooted averſion from

the Duke and Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*; which ſpread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of *Hertford*, whoſe ungovernable temper had made him fail in his perſonal reſpects to her Majeſty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the Queen's reſolutions to make a change of ſome officers, both in her family and kingdom; and that theſe reſolutions did not proceed from any real apprehenſion ſhe had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although ſhe had been ſtrictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and diſcipline, yet ſhe was not ſo ready to foreſee any attempts againſt it by the party then preſiding. But, the fears that moſt influenced her, were ſuch as concerned her own power and prerogative, which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreaſonable demands.

The deportment of the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, while the Prince lay expiring, was of ſuch a nature, that the Queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of diſpleaſure in her countenance, ſhe ordered the Ducheſs to withdraw, and ſend Mrs *Maſham* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince *George*'s death. This Prince had long conceived an incurable averſion from that party, and was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt credit with the Queen his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which ſeemed to favour this attempt; for the Queen, reſolving to beſtow a regiment upon Mr *Hill*, brother to Mrs *Maſham*, ſignified her pleaſure to the Duke of *Marlborough*; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refuſed his conſent, and retired in anger to the country. After ſome heats, the regiment was given to a third perſon: But, the Queen reſented this matter ſo highly, which ſhe thought had been promoted by the Earl of *Godolphin*, that ſhe reſolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr *St John* carried a letter from her Majeſty to the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſignifying her reſolutions to take the ſtaff from the Earl

of

of *Godolphin*, and that ſhe expected his Grace's compliance; to which the Duke returned a very humble anſwer. I cannot engage for this paſſage, it having never come into my head to aſk Mr *St John* about it: But, the account Mr *Harley* and he gave me, was, That the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating ſcheme, wherein ſome of both parties ſhould be employed, but with a more favourable aſpect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean time, the Duke and Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*, were ſecretly uſing their utmoſt efforts with the Queen to turn Mr *Harley*, (who was then Secretary of State) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the Queen, on the other ſide, who had a great opinion of Mr *Harley*'s integrity and abilities, would not conſent, and was determined to remove the Earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the ſeaſon of the year when the Duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders*; and, the very night in which Mr *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his Grace and the Earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill* the Duke's brother, who was in good credit with the Prince, told his Highneſs, that the Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of *Godolphin* went out, or if Mr *Harley* and his friends ſuffered to continue in. The Prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the Queen; and, the time and ſervice preſſing, her Majeſty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great Lords failed the appointment; and, the next morning, the Duke at his levee ſaid aloud in a careleſs manner to thoſe that ſtood round him, That Mr *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the Prince's death, *November* 1708, the two great Lords ſo often mentioned, who had been for ſome years united with the Low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promiſes, which his Highneſs had ever moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The Lord *Sommers* was made Preſident of the Council, the Earl of *Wharton*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp were put into conſiderable poſts.

It

It ſhould ſeem to me, that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to impart ſo much power to thoſe of that party, who expected theſe removals for ſome years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the Prince's unwillingneſs to have them employed. And I remember, ſome months before his Highneſs's death, my Lord *Sommers*, who is a perſon of reſerve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the ſervice he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither ſhall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other ſervice to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my Lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by perſuading the Queen to paſs *the Scotch act of ſecurity*. But to return from this digreſſion.

Upon the admiſſion of theſe men into employments, the Court ſoon ran into extremity of Low-church meaſures; and although, in the Houſe of Commons, Mr *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr *St John*, and ſome others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time that the Duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the raſh counſels of his wife the Ducheſs, made that bold attempt of deſiring the Queen to give him a commiſſion to be General for life. Her Majeſty's anſwer was, That ſhe would take time to conſider it; and, in the mean-while, the Duke adviſed with the Lord *Cowper*, then Chancellor, about the form in which the commiſſion ſhould be drawn. The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to diſſuade the Duke from engaging in ſo dangerous an affair; and proteſted he would never put the great ſeal to ſuch a commiſſion.

But the Queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke, and talked to a perſon whom ſhe had then taken into confidence, as if ſhe apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more Lords, were (as I have *been told*) in a very private manner brought to the Queen.

Queen. This Duke was under great obligations to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high ſtation in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious ſpirit, never eaſy while there was any one above him, made him, upon ſome trifling reſentments, conceive an inveterate hatred againſt his General. When he was conſulted what courſe ſhould be taken upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s requeſt to be General for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refuſal; I was told, he ſuddenly anſwered, That her Majeſty need not be in pain; for, he would undertake, whenever ſhe commanded, to ſeize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, which aroſe from a fooliſh paſſionate pique of the Earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was ſuppoſed, in a ſermon, to have reflected on under the name of VOLPONE, as my Lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confeſſed to me; and, at the ſame time, that he had earneſtly, and in vain endeavoured, to diſſuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing ſaid of it here.

Mr *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs *Maſham*, privately brought to the Queen, and, in ſome meetings, eaſily convinced her Majeſty of the diſpoſitions of her people, as they appeared in the courſe of that trial in favour of the church, and againſt the meaſures of thoſe in her ſervice. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr *Harley* was able to procure this private acceſs to the Queen, the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, by her emiſſaries, watching all the avenues to the back-ſtairs, and upon all occaſions diſcovering their jealouſy of him; whereof he told me a paſſage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an inſolent, jealous miniſter, who would wholly engroſs the power and favour of his Sovereign. Mr *Harley*, upon his removal from the Secretary's of-

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fice, by the intrigues of the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of theſe two Lords near *Kenſington-gate*. The Earl, in a high fit of jealouſy, goes immediately to the Queen, reproaches her for privately ſeeing Mr *Harley*, and was hardly ſo civil as to be convinced with her Majeſty's frequent proteſtations to the contrary.

Theſe ſuſpicions, I ſay, made it hard for her Majeſty and Mr *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made uſe of the opportunities he met with to open himſelf ſo much to her, as ſhe ſeemed to expect, and deſired; although Mrs *Maſham*, in right of her ſtation in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occaſions of purſuing what Mr *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture, the Queen, hemmed in, and as it were impriſoned, by the Ducheſs of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loſs how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary meſſenger; he read the ſuperſcription, and ſaw it was the Queen's writing; he ſent for the meſſenger, who ſaid, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kenſington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her Majeſty was under, blaming him for not ſpeaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and deſiring his aſſiſtance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although ſtill as private as poſſible, to the back-ſtairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the Queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itſelf, from the councils and actions of ſome of her ſervants: That ſhe ought gradually to leſſen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the diſpoſition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a ſlave to a party; but to reward thoſe who may deſerve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were ſuch as were called of the High-church or Low-church. In ſhort, whatever views he had then in his own breaſt; or, how far ſoever he intended

intended to proceed, the turn of his whole diſcourſe was intended, in appearance, only to put the Queen upon what they called a moderating ſcheme; which however made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her, that when this miniſter, led by the neceſſity of affairs, the general diſpoſition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her Majeſty upon going greater lengths than ſhe had firſt intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and ſome inſuperable; as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this change.

Her Majeſty, purſuant to Mr *Harley*'s advice, reſolved to diſpoſe of the firſt great employment that fell, according to her own pleaſure, without conſulting any of her miniſters. To put this in execution, an opportunity ſoon happened by the death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the Queen and Mr *Harley*, that the Earl *Rivers* ſhould go immediately to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and deſire his Grace's good offices with the Queen, to procure him that poſt. The Earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of profeſſions of kindneſs by the Duke, who ſaid the lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his Lordſhip's acceptance, and deſired him to think of ſomething elſe. The Earl ſtill inſiſted, and the Duke ſtill continued to put him off; at length Lord *Rivers* deſired his Grace's conſent to let him go himſelf and beg this favour of the Queen, and hoped he might tell her Majeſty, his Grace had no objection to him. All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no conſequence. The Earl went to the Queen, who immediately gave orders for his commiſſion. He had not long left the Queen's preſence, when the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſuſpecting nothing that would happen, went to the Queen, told her the lieutenancy of the Tower falling void by the death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he hoped her Majeſty would beſtow it upon the Duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford* regiment, then commanded by that Duke, to the Earl of *Hertford*. The Queen ſaid, he was come too late; that ſhe had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the Duke] had no objection to him. The Duke, much ſurprized

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at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her Majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The Queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the Duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, while the Earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket*: His Lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* as he was capable of. The circumstances of the Earl of *Sunderland*'s removal, and the reasons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her Majesty's person.

Mean-time both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the Queen began to stop her hand, and the church-party to despond. At the same time, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility: The Earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, "Damn him, he is making fair weather "with me; but, by G—d, I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the Treasurer's staff from the Earl of *Godolphin*; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her Majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The Treasury was immediately put into commission, with Earl *Powlet* at the head; but Mr *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the same time made Chancellor of the Exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of *Wharton* immediately desired, and obtained leave, to come for

England,

England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himſelf with the utmoſt profligateneſs, injuſtice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and deteſtation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, becauſe my coming into the knowledge of the new miniſtry began about this time, I muſt digreſs a little, to relate ſome circumſtances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no ſtranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my ſtudy, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King *William*'s death; when, returning with the Earl of *Berkeley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the ſubject of the five great Lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by the Houſe of Commons, I happened to ſay, that the ſame manner of proceeding, at leaſt as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be eaſy to prove it from hiſtory. Soon after I went to *London*; and, in a few weeks, drew up a diſcourſe, under the title of *The Conteſts and Diſſentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe States*. This diſcourſe I ſent very privately to the preſs, with the ſtricteſt injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my reſidence in *Ireland*. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged ſome time upon my Lord *Sommers*, and ſome time upon the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to diſown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened *.

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the firſt I ever printed †) I muſt confeſs, the vanity of

* Vide *Swift*'s Eſſay upon the Life, Writings and Character of Dr *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121, where there is a droll, pleaſant dialogue, between Dr *Swift* and Biſhop *Sheridan*, relating to this famous Tract.

† Meaning the firſt political piece he had ever printed; otherwiſe it is not true. For, the Tale of a Tub, and the Battle of the Books,

a young man prevailed with me, to let myſelf be known for the author: Upon which my Lord *Somners* and *Hallifax*, as well as the Biſhop above mentioned, deſired my acquaintance, with great marks of eſteem and profeſſions of kindneſs: Not to mention the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to ſerve me ſince the death of the King, and were very liberal in promiſing me the greateſt preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I ſoon grew domeſtic with Lord *Hallifax*, and was as often with Lord *Sommers*, as the formality of his nature (the only unconverſable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myſelf with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myſelf in other, and, I think, much better ſpeculations. I talked often upon this ſubject with Lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long converſant with the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myſelf much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, beſides, I thought it impoſſible, upon any other principle, to defend or ſubmit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confeſſed myſelf to be an High-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwiſe: That I had obſerved very well with what inſolence and haughtineſs ſome Lords of the High-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatſoever, and thought this was ſufficiently recompenſed by their profeſſions of zeal to the church: That I had likewiſe obſerved how the Whig Lords took a direct contrary meaſure, treated the perſons of particular clergymen with great curteſy, but ſhewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was neceſſary for their party, to make

Books, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Dr *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himſelf the author of thoſe pieces, imagined he had a right to ſay, this diſcourſe was the firſt he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the *Athenian* Oracle, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance.

make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Proteſtants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either ſide; but, that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the Whigs to thoſe writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy, without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppoſe them: And, that I doubted his Lordſhip's friends did not conſider the conſequence of this. My Lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the ſame opinion, and ſaid very much of the endeavours he had often uſed to redreſs that evil I complained of. This his Lordſhip, as well as my Lord *Halifax*, (to whom I have talked in the ſame manner) can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the ſame party, that both their Lordſhips, about the time of Lord *Godolphin*'s removal, did upon occaſion call to mind what I had ſaid to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England* I continued upon the ſame foot of acquaintance with the two Lords laſt mentioned, until the time of Prince *George*'s death, when the Queen, who, as is before related, had for ſome years favoured that party, now made Lord *Sommers* Preſident of the Council, and the Earl of *Wharton* Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London*, I received letters from ſome Biſhops of *Ireland*, to ſollicit the Earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promiſed, and wherein I had been employed before, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs from the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is the firſt time I ever was in company with the Earl of *Wharton*; he received me with ſufficient coldneſs, and anſwered the requeſt I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuſes, which amounted to a refuſal. I complained of this uſage to Lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his houſe, and preſent me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the teſt, as a ſtep to have it taken off here: Upon

which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, ſhewing the danger to the church by ſuch an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the Lieutenant's chaplain, and ſome others, gueſſed me to be the author, and told his Excellency their ſuſpicions; whereupon I ſaw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of Lord *Sommers*, he deſired I would carry a letter from him to the Earl of *Wharton*, which I abſolutely refuſed; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I ſtaid ſome months in *Leiceſterſhire*; went to *Ireland*; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-pariſh, without ſeeing the Lieutenant, or any other perſon; reſolving to ſend him Lord *Sommers*'s letter by the poſt. But, being called up to town, by the inceſſant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greateſt part of his government, I lived in the country, ſaw the Lieutenant very ſeldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the leaſt degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his ſecretary Mr *Addiſon*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to careſs me, which I underſtood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mentioned theſe inſignificant particulars, as it will be eaſily judged, for ſome reaſons that are purely perſonal to myſelf; it having been objected by ſeveral of thoſe poor pamphleteers, who have blotted ſo much paper to ſhew their malice againſt me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifeſt to all men, that, during the higheſt dominion of that faction, I had publiſhed ſeveral tracts in oppoſition to the meaſures then taken: For inſtance, A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Counteſs of *Berkeley*; the ſentiments of a church of *England* man; an argument againſt aboliſhing Chriſtianity; and, laſtly, a letter to a member of parliament againſt taking off the teſt in *Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the Earl of *Wharton* was

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ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of *Auguſt* 1710, I went for *England*, at the deſire and by the appointment of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſollicit, in conjunction with two Biſhops who were then in *London*, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years ſollicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two Biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr *Harley*, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the Queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him, and got me the Queen's promiſe for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the Biſhops there, deceived by miſinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good iſſue.

When the affair of the firſt-fruits was fully diſpatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland*, and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what uſeful things I had written againſt the principles of the late diſcarded faction; and, that my perſonal eſteem for ſeveral among them, would not make me a favourer of their cauſe: That there was now entirely a new ſcene: That the Queen was reſolved to employ none but thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution of church and ſtate: That their great difficulty lay in the want of ſome good pen, to keep up the ſpirit raiſed in the people, to aſſert the principles, and juſtify the proceedings of the new Miniſters. * *Upon*

* Theſe words printed in Italics are eraſed in the original, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

that ſubject he fell into ſome perſonal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, That this province was in the hands of ſeveral perſons, among whom ſome were too buſy, and others too idle to purſue it; and concluded, that it ſhould be his particular care to eſtabliſh me here in *England*, and repreſent me to the Queen as a perſon they could not be without.

I promiſed to do my endeavours in that way for ſome few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occaſions for me.

Upon the riſe of this Miniſtry, the principal perſons in power thought it neceſſary that ſome weekly paper ſhould be publiſhed, with juſt reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the preſent meaſures of her Majeſty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin*'s removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of theſe papers, written with much ſpirit and ſharpneſs, ſome by Mr Secretary *St John*, ſince Lord *Bolingbroke*; others by Dr *Atterbury*, ſince Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and others again by Mr *Prior*, Doctor *Friend*, &c. were publiſhed with great applauſe. But theſe gentlemen, grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I ſhould continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my ſtile being ſoon diſcovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome manner until her Majeſty's death.

It was Mr *Harley*'s cuſtom, every *Saturday*, that four or five of his moſt intimate friends, among thoſe he had taken in upon the great change made at Court, ſhould dine at his houſe; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at firſt, conſiſted only of the Lord-keeper *Harcourt*, the Earl *Rivers*, the Earl of *Peterborow*, Mr Secretary *St John*, and myſelf: And here, after dinner, they uſed to diſcourſe, and ſettle matters of great importance. Several other Lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t*; the Lord *B——y*, &c. Theſe meetings

meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at *Windſor*; but, as they grew more numerous, became of leſs conſequence; and ended only in drinking and general converſation; of which I may, perhaps, have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

My early appearance at theſe meetings, which many thought to be of greater conſequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I uſed all my endeavours to that purpoſe. This gave the occaſion to ſome great men, who thought me already in the ſecret, to complain to me of the ſuſpicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr *Harley*, even before he was Lord Treaſurer; ſo early were ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards grew up ſo high. The cauſe of their complaint was, That ſo great a number of the adverſe party continued in employment; and ſome, particularly the Duke of *Somerſet* and Earl of *Cholmondely*, in great ſtations at court. They could not believe Mr *Harley* was in earneſt; but, that he deſigned to conſtitute a motly comprehenſive adminiſtration, which they ſaid the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of ſome Lords and gentlemen, where theſe grievances were at large related to me, with an earneſt deſire that I would repreſent them in the moſt reſpectful manner to Mr *Harley*, upon a ſuppoſition that I was in high credit with him. I excuſed myſelf from ſuch an office upon the newneſs of my acquaintance with Mr *Harley*; however, I repreſented the matter fairly to him; againſt which he argued a good deal, from the general reaſons of politicians; the neceſſity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of diſobliging thoſe who muſt remain unprovided for, and the like uſual topics among Stateſmen. But, there was a ſecret in this matter which neither I, nor indeed any of his moſt intimate friends, were then appriſed of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to aſſure me very ſolemnly, That no perſon ſhould have the ſmalleſt employment, either civil or military, whoſe principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, theſe over-moderate proceedings in the court gave riſe to a party in the Houſe of Commons, which appeared under the name of the *October-club*; a fantaſtic

fantaſtic appellation, found out to diſtinguiſh a number of country gentlemen, and their adherents, who profeſſed in the greateſt degree what was called the High-church principle. They grew in number to almoſt a third part of the Houſe, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what meaſures they were to take in parliament. They profeſſed their jealouſy of the court and miniſtry; declared, upon all occaſions, their deſire of a more general change, as well as of a ſtrict inquiry into former miſmanagement; and ſeemed to expect, that thoſe in power ſhould openly avow the old principles in church and ſtate. I was then of opinion, and ſtill continue ſo, that if this body of men could have remained ſome time united, they would have put the crown under a neceſſity of acting in a more ſteady and ſtrenuous manner. But Mr *Harley*, who beſt knew the diſpoſition of the Queen, was forced to break their meaſures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themſelves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The Miniſters gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr Secretary *St John*, and Mr *B*——, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the conſequences of that aſſembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themſelves betrayed by the reſt, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then roſe, had been choſen without any endeavours from the court, to ſecure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Doctor *Sacheverel* had raiſed, or diſcovered, ſuch a ſpirit in all parts, that the miniſters could very ſafely leave the electors to themſelves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by ſome refiners of both parties, numbered among the ſtrains of Mr *Harley*'s politics, who was ſaid to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a miniſtry. But, from the ſmall experience I have

of

of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worſt ſort of all conjectures; and from this one occaſion I take leave to obſerve, That of ſome hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reaſon why the court did not interpoſe in matter of elections, was, becauſe they thought themſelves ſure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Beſides, it afterwards appeared upon ſome exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr *Harley*, in order to give credit to his adminiſtration, reſolved upon two very important points; firſt, to ſecure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, ſecondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compaſs both thoſe ends, I have treated at large in another work: I ſhall only obſerve, that while he was preparing to open to the Houſe of Commons his ſcheme for ſecuring the public debts, he was ſtabbed by the Marquis de *Guiſcard*, while he was ſitting in the council-chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten Lords of the cabinet, met on purpoſe to examine the Marquis upon a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence he held with *France*.

This fact was ſo uncommon in the manner and circumſtances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furniſhed the author with ſome materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The aſſaſſin was ſeized, by Mr *Harley*'s order, upon the eighth of *March* 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of Lords, was examined about his correſponding with *France:* Upon his denial, Mr *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The Marquis, prepared for miſchief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the meſſenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the ſurprize of his letter appearing againſt him, he came ſuddenly behind Mr *Harley*, and reaching his arm round, ſtabbed that miniſter into the middle of the breaſt, about a quarter of an inch a-

bove

bove the *cartilago enſiformis*; the penknife ſtriking upon the bone, and otherwiſe obſtructed by a thick embroidered waiſtcoat, broke ſhort at the handle, which *Guiſcard* ſtill graſped and redoubled his blow. The confuſion upon this accident is eaſier conceived than deſcribed: The reſult was, that the Marquis, whether by the wounds given him by ſome of the Lords, or the bruiſes he received from the meſſengers while they were ſeizing him, or the neglect of his Surgeon; or that, being unwilling to live, he induſtriouſly concealed one of his wounds; he died in a few days after. But Mr *Harley*, after a long illneſs, and frequent ill ſymptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiſcard was the younger brother of the Count of that name, a very honourable and worthy perſon, formerly Governor of *Namur*. But this Marquis was a reproach to his family, proſtitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his Prince: As to the reſt, of a very poor underſtanding, and the moſt tedious, trifling talker, I ever converſed with. He was grown needy by ſquandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his penſion retrenched; the deſpair of which firſt put him upon his French correſpondence; and the diſcovery of that drove him into madneſs. I had known him ſome years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I obſerved to a friend then with me, that I wondered to ſee *Guiſcard* paſs ſo often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confeſs I never ſuſpected him to be a man of reſolution, or courage, ſufficient to bear him out in ſo deſperate an attempt.

I have ſome very good reaſons to know, that the firſt miſunderſtanding between Mr *Harley* and Mr *St John*, which afterwards had ſuch unhappy conſequences upon the public affairs, took its riſe during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr *St John* affected to ſay in ſeveral companies, that *Guiſcard* intended the blow againſt him; which, if it were true, the conſequence muſt be, that Mr *St John* had

had all the merit, while Mr *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr *St John* was either miſtaken, or miſinformed: However, the matter was thus repreſented in the weekly paper called the Examiner, which Mr *St John* peruſed before it was printed, but made no alteration in that paſſage.

This management was looked upon, at leaſt, as a piece of youthful indiſcretion in Mr *St John*; and, perhaps, was repreſented in a worſe view to Mr *Harley*: Neither am I altogether ſure, that Mr *St John* did not entertain ſome proſpect of ſucceeding as firſt miniſter, in caſe of Mr *Harley*'s death; which, during his illneſs, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon viſiting Mr *Harley*, as ſoon as he was in a condition to be ſeen, I found ſeveral of his neareſt relations talk very freely of ſome proceedings of Mr *St John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendſhip would not be of any long continuance.

Mr *Harley*, ſoon after his recovery, was made an Earl, and Lord Treaſurer; and Lord Keeper, a Baron.

PREFACE

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS OF QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at *Windſor*, in the happy reign of her Majeſty Queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects in the year 1715; but being under a neceſſity of going to *Ireland*, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of St *Patrick's*, *Dublin*; I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my Lord Treaſurer *Oxford*, and the Secretary my Lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed parliament, brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr *Harley*, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood ſome years before her Majeſty's death, how

how the new King would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her Majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her Majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a Sovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmoſt impartiality, the following hiſtory of the four laſt years of her Majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this hiſtory, beſides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years, by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well

as inſtructions ſent them by our Secretaries of State, or by the firſt miniſter the Earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the Secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering 300 *l.* to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe*, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the Treaſurer and Secretary; but, in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the Lord Treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr *Addiſon* and Mr *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and, by his Lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr *Steele* might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeated indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

I have no intereſt or inclination to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called Prime Miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate-opinions. Old perſons remember at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt Earl of *Clarendon*, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even Biſhop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the Treaſurer and Secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in *Berkſhire*, where I ſtaid until her Majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once ſeeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the ſtyle: And, if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for it was hardly poſſible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be caſt upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a Princeſs as her late Majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor: whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the

Queen and both houſes of Parliament, with the greateſt unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every Prince in our alliance ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots for the intereſts of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* King, or the *Hollanders*, more ſtrictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

AN

AN

INQUIRY

Into the BEHAVIOUR of the

QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

With Relation to their

QUARRELS among themſelves, and the deſign charged upon them of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown.

JUNE, MDCCXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: Beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former; I have not found the tranſition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and inquiring after news not being one of my diverſions, having always diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great diſtance from the ſeat of buſineſs; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifeſt that the hearts of moſt men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealouſies, or elſe with hatred and rage, to a degree that there ſeems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people

different parties; and what the conſequences of this may be, let thoſe conſider who have contributed to the cauſes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late Miniſtry, much inſiſted on, and little underſtood by thoſe who write or talk upon that ſubject; wherein I am ſufficiently qualified to give ſatisfaction; and would gladly do it, becauſe I ſee very much weight laid upon each, and moſt mens opinions of perſons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's death, having loſt all hopes of any reconcilement between the Treaſurer and the reſt of the miniſtry, I retired into the country, to await the iſſue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reaſon to foreſee, in the Earl of *Oxford*'s diſgrace; to whom the Lord *Bolingbroke* immediately ſucceeded as firſt miniſter: And I was told, that an Earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff againſt the next ſeſſion of parliament; of which I can ſay nothing certain, being then in *Berkſhire*, and receiving this account from ſome of his friends; but all theſe ſchemes became ſoon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of *Oxford*'s removal.

Upon this great event, I took the firſt opportunity of withdrawing to my place of reſidence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his Majeſty's quiet acceſſion to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has ſince appeared indiſputable, that the peace procured by the late miniſtry had, among other good effects, been highly inſtrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever ſince a loyal humble ſpectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no ſecret to any man of common ſagacity, that his preſent Majeſty's choice of his ſervants, whenever he ſhould happen to ſucceed, would be determined to thoſe who moſt oppoſed the proceedings during the four laſt years of his predeceſſor's reign: And, I think, there hath not ſince happened one particular of any moment, which the miniſters did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the diſpoſitions of the

the court at *Hanover* in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occaſions, publicly diſapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of *Ormond*; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one perſon in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foreſee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to thoſe, who will conſider the nobleneſs of his birth, the great merits of his anceſtors, and his own; his long unſpotted loyalty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper, which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf; I have not converſed with a more faultleſs perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtenation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory, although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe who had the honour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the Duke of *Ormond*, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and, therefore, I ſhall not preſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his Miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high-treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at *London*, for his ſovereign King *William*, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at *Viga*.

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive to the practice of this maxim, by the help

of

of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the moſt obvious reflections in morality; yet, ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may, perhaps, be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend; whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and chiefly confined myſelf to; ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high-treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf to be perpetually in the company of Traitors. But *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away*. Having already ſaid ſomething of the Duke of *Ormond*, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary *Bolingbroke*: Deſcended from the beſt families in *England*, heir to a great patrimonial eſtate, of a ſound conſtitution, and a moſt graceful, amiable perſon: But all theſe, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accompliſhments of his mind, which was adorned with the choiceſt gifts that God hath yet thought fit to beſtow upon the children of men; a ſtrong memory, a clear judgment, a vaſt range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehenſion, an invincible eloquence, with a moſt agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all theſe talents by travel and ſtudy, the latter of which he ſeldom omitted, even in the midſt of his pleaſures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a purſuer: For, although he was perſuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for ſome time to ſuch a degree that he ſeemed rather abſtemious; yet

yet he was ſaid to allow himſelf other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reaſon to believe, he began to be ſenſible. But he was fond of mixing pleaſure and buſineſs, and of being eſteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great reſpect for the characters of *Alcibiades* and *Petronius*, eſpecially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to reſemble. His detractors charged him with ſome degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; ſince it was hardly poſſible for a young man, with half the buſineſs of the nation upon him, and the applauſe of the whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negotiator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but underſtanding men, of both parties, have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of *Oxford* is a perſon of as much virtue, as can poſſibly conſiſt with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance that ever fell within my memory, or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceivable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the *Veres* and the *Mortimers*, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf, and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good nature, and good humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his

miniſtry,

miniſtry, when he began to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much, as by appearing uneaſy when the dealers in that kind of writing firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgment. In drawing up any ſtate-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtile were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet, often, to ſave time, he would leave the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſtitution; the reputation whereof made him be choſen ſpeaker to three ſucceſſive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with univerſal applauſe: His ſagacity was ſuch, that I could produce very amazing inſtances of it, if they were not unſeaſonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be purſued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the miniſtry have confeſſed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themſelves in the wrong. He was utterly a ſtranger to fear; and, conſequently, had a preſence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were ſuch, that he almoſt ruined

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his eſtate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was ſo great, that it neither conſiſted with the preſent corruptions of the age, nor the circumſtances of the time. He was ſeldom miſtaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the repreſentation of others; except toward the end of his miniſtry. He was affable and courteous, extremely eaſy and agreeable in converſation, and altogether diſengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expreſſions that could poſſibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at leaſt, as obvious, although not ſo numerous as his virtues. He had an air of ſecrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great miniſter, becauſe it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: And I the rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper, becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of *Sunderland*, and the preſent Lord *Sommers*, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would eaſily unlock the breaſts of others. But the Earl of *Oxford* pleads, in excuſe of this charge, that he hath ſeldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched than his Sovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the Queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court-vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit

quit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his diſappointed ſollicitors would believe. It may be likewiſe ſaid of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not underſtand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us uſed to obſerve, that thoſe whom he talked well of, or ſuffered to be often near him, were not in a ſituation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or diſlike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, becauſe I have obſerved it ſo often miſtaken by the wiſe reaſoners of both parties: Beſides, having had the honour, for almoſt four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than uſually happens to men of my level, and this without the leaſt mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am ſure it is in my will, to repreſent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often conſidered the qualities and diſpoſitions of theſe two miniſters, I am at a loſs to think how it ſhould come to paſs that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear ſo many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is uſually imputed in the caſes of *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, *Scipio*, and others, and of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Strafford*, here in *England*. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordinations of power, hath made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number; and

and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates. Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men to have been cauſed by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made by *Hobbes* the definition of magnanimity: And this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in general, ſo it giveth offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal: For, I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reaſonably* and juſtly, think that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themſelves excel. For I have frequently obſerved more cauſes of diſcontent ariſe from the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act in common buſineſs, out of the common road, than from all the uſual topics of diſpleaſure againſt men in power. It is the ſame thing in other ſcenes of life, and among all ſocieties or communities; where, no men are better truſted, or have more ſucceſs in buſineſs, than thoſe who, with ſome honeſty and a moderate portion of underſtanding, are ſtrict obſervers of time, place, and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expoſe men to the cenſure and obloquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt, or neglect of theſe circumſtances, however attended with a ſuperior genius, and an equal deſire of doing good: Which hath made me ſometimes ſay, to a great perſon of this latter character, that a ſmall infuſion of the *Alderman* was neceſſary to thoſe who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occaſion, I cannot forget a very trifling inſtance: That one day, obſerving the ſame perſon to divide a ſheet of paper with a penknife, the ſharpneſs of the inſtrument occaſioned it's moving ſo irregularly and crooked, that he ſpoiled the whole ſheet; whereupon I adviſed him

to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little ſtrength and a ſteady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digreſſion: About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other, for no viſible cauſe, and thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at *Hanover*. But the weight of theſe gentlemens diſpleaſure fell upon the Earl of *Oxford*; that he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the intereſt of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with the adverſe party: That, either from his negligence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the reſt of the miniſters. Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to *Ireland*, where he kept four biſhopricks undiſpoſed of, though often and moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion the church-intereſt of that kingdom, in the Houſe of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe who diſcourſed with me after this manner, did, at the ſame time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleaſure, the glorious opportunity, then in his Majeſty's hands, of putting an end to party-diſtinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehenſion that ſeemed to give them any uneaſineſs was, leſt the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, repreſent their loyalty with advantage.

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On the other ſide, the gainers and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different ſtile: They all directly aſſerted, that the whole late miniſtry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would ſometimes a little demur upon the Earl of *Oxford*; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the ſame accuſation, without any reſerve, upon the late Queen herſelf. That, if her Majeſty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to uſe their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) *things were not ripe.* That this accuſation would, in a ſhort time, infallibly be proved as clear as the ſun at noon-day to all the world: And the conſequences naturally following from theſe poſitions were, that the leaders ought to loſe their heads, and all their abettors be utterly ſtript of power and favour.

Theſe being the ſentiments and diſcourſes of both parties, tending to load the late miniſtry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe Miniſters are anſwerable to their friends for their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſentions? And, ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender?

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral Treatiſes, of which the one is an hiſtory, and the other, memoirs of particular facts; but neither of them fit to ſee the light, at preſent; becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time, I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen, ſome years hence, to read the hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice, or ill-will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice. For I have always

held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice: Becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: And I know a certain Lord *, not long ſince dead, who, I am very confident, would not have diſpoſed of one ſingle ſhilling to have had it in his choice, whether he ſhould be repreſented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Cataline*.

However, being firmly reſolved, for *very material reaſons*, to avoid giving the leaſt offence to any party or perſon in power; I ſhall barely ſet down ſome facts and circumſtances, during the four laſt years of Queen *Anne*'s reign, which at preſent are little known; and whereby thoſe of the church-party, who object againſt the unſteadineſs, neglect, and want of concert in the late miniſtry, may better account for their faults. Moſt of thoſe facts I can bear witneſs of myſelf, and have received the reſt from ſufficient authority.

It is moſt certain, that, when the Queen firſt began to change her ſervants, it was not from a diſlike of things, but of perſons, and thoſe perſons were a very ſmall number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the iſſue of Dr *Sacheverel*'s trial that encouraged her to proceed ſo far; and ſeveral of the low-church party, knowing that her diſpleaſure went no further than againſt one ſingle family, did not appear to diſlike what was done; of which I could give ſome extraordinary inſtances †. But that famous trial had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the nation, againſt the parliament, that her Majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, which, I am confident, ſhe did not at firſt intend. Upon this reſolution, delivered by the Queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord *Somers*, then preſident, ſome, who were willing to ſacrifice one or two perſons, would not ſacrifice their cauſe, but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments,

* Earl of *Wharton*. † Duke of *Somerſet*.

ments, which the Queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe who knew her beſt thought to be real, eſpecially Lord *Sommers* and Lord *Cowper*, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr *Harley*'s detractors would have it, (who was then miniſter) from a refinement of his politics, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I know not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the Queen expected or deſired; ſhe had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her death: But this neither the Houſe of Commons, nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture ſince: Several country-members, to almoſt a third part of the Houſe, began immediately to form themſelves into a body, under a fantaſtic name of the *October-club*. Theſe daily preſſed the miniſtry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealouſy and diſcontent. I remember it was then commonly underſtood and expected, that, when the ſeſſion ended, a general removal would be made: But it happened otherwiſe; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was uſed in ſupplying common vacancies by death This manner of proceeding in a prime miniſter, I confeſs, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little ſatisfied with the ſolution I had heard, and partly knew that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation ly in common; for I found the effect did not anſwer, and that, in the mean-time, he led ſo uneaſy a life, by ſollicitations and purſuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his mini-

ſtry, I did, at the requeſt of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, take the liberty of repreſenting this matter to him: His anſwer was ſhort and cold; That he hoped his friends would truſt him; that he heartily wiſhed none but thoſe who loved the church and Queen, were employed; but that all things could not be done on a ſudden. I have reaſon to believe, that his neareſt acquaintance were then wholly at a loſs what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preſerve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, beſides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the Queen his Miſtreſs; who was grown very poſitive, ſlow, and ſuſpicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *adviſed*. So that few miniſters had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealouſy and diſcontents of his friends on one ſide, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendſhip, in appearance, than what I obſerved between thoſe three great men, who were then chiefly truſted; I mean the Lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the firſt where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and ſaid, I would venture to propheſy, that however inconſtant our court had hitherto been, their miniſtry would certainly laſt; for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their ſide. Then it happened, that the public good and their private intereſt had the ſame bottom, which is a peice of good fortune that doth not always fall to the ſhare of men in power: But, principally, becauſe I obſerved they heartily loved one another; and I did not ſee how their kindneſs could be diſturbed by competition, ſince each of them ſeemed contented with his own diſtrict: So that, notwithſtanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendſhips to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would laſt as long as their lives. But, it ſeems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiſer

wiſer than I, who lived to ſee this friendſhip firſt degenerate into indifference and ſuſpicion, and thence corrupt into the greateſt animoſity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the diſcredit of me and my ſagacity. By what degrees, and from what cauſes their diſſenſions grew, I ſhall, as far as it may be ſafe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr *Harley* was ſtabbed by *Guiſcard*, the writer of a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, taking occaſion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumſtance, I know not upon what grounds, that the *French* aſſaſſin confeſſed he, at firſt, intended to have murdered Mr Secretary *St John*; who ſitting at too great a diſtance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the Secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others ſhould believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of ſuch a report, which, by a very unfair diviſion, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr *St John*, and left Mr *Harley* nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which, although he had a ſufficient ſhare, (his phyſicians being often under apprehenſions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illneſs was a period of more quiet and eaſe than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr *Harley*'s friends; and the rather becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by *Guiſcard*'s confeſſion.

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the Secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived, that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr *Harley* ſhould die; although at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr *St John*, by repeating what he ſaid to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill diſſembler) That, if Mr *Harley*'s accident ſhould prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loſs: That, as things then ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That, as to himſelf, he

was

was not maſter of the ſcheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen; neither did he ſee how it would be poſſible for them, in ſuch a caſe, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in ſo nice a point, this much is certain, that ſome things happened during Mr *Harley*'s confinement, which bred a coldneſs and jealouſy between thoſe two great men; and theſe, increaſing by many ſubſequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr *Harley*'s recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an Earldom, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, it was, after ſome time, given to another great Lady *, wholly in the intereſts of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her Majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the Queen's ſervants put together. Of this Lady's character and ſtory, having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may one day ſee the light; I ſhall only obſerve, that, as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the Queen, following the courſe of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, uſed to divert her Majeſty from this choice; but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, that, if ſhe might not have liberty to chuſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change of her miniſtry: And ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a High-church, or Tory-adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the preſent proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of conſequence

* Ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

conſequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of *Nottingham* was pleaſed to prepare and offer a vote, in the Houſe of Lords, againſt any peace, while *Spain* continued in the hands of the *Bourbon* family. Of this vote the miniſters had early notice; and, by caſting up the numbers, concluded they ſhould have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The Queen was deſired, and promiſed, to ſpeak to a certain Lord, who was looked upon as dubious: That Lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her Majeſty, although ſhe afterwards owned it was not for want of remembring, but from perfect indifference. The Treaſurer, who truſted to promiſes, and reckoned that others would truſt to his, was, by a moſt unſeaſonable piece of parſimony, groſly deceived; and the vote carried againſt the court. The Queen had the curioſity to be preſent at the debate; and appeared ſo little diſpleaſed at the event, or againſt thoſe from whom ſhe might have expected more compliance; that a perſon * in high ſtation among her domeſtics, who, that day in her preſence, had ſhewn his utmoſt eloquence (ſuch as it was) againſt the miniſters, received a particular mark † of diſtinction and favour, which, by his poſt, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her ſervice but with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain, that this vote could not have been carried, if ſome perſons, very near her Majeſty, had not given aſſurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour ſeemed to confirm.

But, when the conſequences of this vote were calmly repreſented to her, that the limitation ſpecified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in caſe the recovery of *Spain* ſhould be found impoſſible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the oppoſite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer it's burthen and charge, eſpecially with annual additions: That other

* Duke of *Somerſet*.

† To lead out the Queen.

other expedients might poſſibly be found for preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under the ſame King, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the deſign of this vote was to put her Majeſty under the neceſſity of diſſolving the Parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the adminiſtration in the hands of thoſe whom ſhe had thought fit to lay aſide, and this by ſacrificing her preſent ſervants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious conſiderations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her Majeſty, who was earneſtly bent upon giving peace to her people, conſented to fall upon the ſole expedient, that her own coldneſs, or the Treaſurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of Peers, ſufficient to turn the balance in the Houſe of Lords. I confeſs that, in my hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjecture, that, if this were the Treaſurer's council, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome further views than that of avoiding the conſequences of my Lord *Nottingham*'s vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the revolution to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually turned towards thoſe who, in the party-term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the Biſhops-bench almoſt wholly renewed. But the majority of landed-men, ſtill retaining the old-church principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert them, the late King was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well, as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous, under all diſcouragements, began to conceive

conceive hopes, that her Majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And, indeed, upon that foot, things ſtood for ſome time: But, a new war being reſolved on, three perſons, who had moſt credit with her Majeſty, and who were then looked upon to be, at leaſt, as high principled as could poſſibly conſiſt with the proteſtant ſucceſſion, having conſulted their friends, began to conceive that the military ſpirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen againſt *France*, more ſanguine upon the power and wealth of *England*, and better verſed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been ſo long uſed. There were ſome other motives for this tranſition of the miniſters at that time, which are more proper for the hiſtory above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern by what they call a Low-church miniſtry, which continued for ſeveral years; till at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and ſucceſs, and the nation riſing into a flame, (whether juſtly or no) upon the trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, which, in effect, was a general muſter of both parties; her Majeſty, following her own inclinations and thoſe of her people, reſolved to make ſome changes in the miniſtry, and take Mr *Harley* into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge againſt that miniſter ſays, *by the baſeſt inſinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I ſhall not diſpute; although I confeſs to have received a very different account of that matter from a moſt excellent Lady, upon whoſe veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her Miſtreſs, muſt needs know a particular fact wherein ſhe was immediately concerned and truſted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a Houſe of Commons.

When the new parliament met, whoſe elections were left entirely to the people, without the leaſt influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the nation out-numbered the other, and eſpecially in the ſeveral counties. But, in the Houſe of Lords, even after ſome management, there was but

a weak

a weak and crazy majority: Nor even could this have been expected, if several great Lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, the Earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, and some others, who certainly came into the Queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of *England* cannot go on while the two Houses of Parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: One of these two things was of necessity to be done; either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig-stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: Or else, to turn the balance in the House of Lords; which, after the success of Lord *Nottingham*'s vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the Queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the Treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong; yet I do not see how the Treasurer can justly be blamed for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the Queen was brought into this measure, by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace; yet

yet the Treaſurer's friends began to preſs him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was paſt, that his credit was great enough to compaſs whatever he pleaſed. But this proved to be ill reaſoning; for the Queen had no diſlike at all to the other party, (whatever perſonal piques ſhe might bear to ſome among them) further than as ſhe conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her Majeſty reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end as ſhe could with honour and ſafety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readineſs enough, into the methods propoſed to her for advancing that great work. But, in diſpenſing her favours, ſhe was extremely cautious and ſlow; and, after the uſual miſtake of thoſe who think they have been often impoſed on, became ſo very ſuſpicious, that ſhe overſhot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a perſon happened to be recommended as uſeful for her ſervice, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, ſhe would conſent; but, if the Treaſurer offered, at the ſame time, a warrant, or other inſtrument, to her, already prepared in order to be ſigned, becauſe he preſumed to reckon upon her conſent before hand, ſhe would not; and thus the affair would ſometimes lie for ſeveral months together, altho' the thing were ever ſo reaſonable, or that even the public ſuffered by the delay. So that this miniſter had no other remedy but to let her Majeſty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longeſt that the nature of the thing could ſuffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr Secretary *St John*, whoſe merits and pretenſions, as things then ſtood, were far ſuperior to any, was purpoſely left out, becauſe the court had need of his great abilities, the following ſeſſion, in the Houſe of Commons; and the peace, being then upon the anvil, he was beſt able to explain and juſtify the ſeveral ſteps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reaſon and univerſal applauſe. When the ſeſſion was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that he might not loſe his rank, created him Viſcount. There had been an Earldom in his name and family, lately extinct; (though a Barony fell to a collateral branch in the per-

ſon of an infant), and the Secretary, being of the ſame houſe, expected and deſired the ſame degree. For, he reaſoned, that, making him a Viſcount, would be but rigorous juſtice, and he hoped he might pretend to ſome mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with; becauſe, to ſay the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; ſome women about the court having infuſed an opinion into her, that he was not ſo regular in his life as he ought to be. The Secretary laid the whole blame of this diſappointment upon the Earl of *Oxford*, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendſhip as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was neceſſary for carrying on the public ſervice. And although I have good reaſon to be aſſured, that the Treaſurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himſelf and Lady *Maſham* then proteſted to me, yet my Lord *Bolingbroke* thought the appearances were ſo ſtrong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The diviſions between theſe two great men began to ſplit the court into parties; *Harcourt*, Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Argyle*, Sir *William Windham*, and one or two more, adhered to the Secretary; the reſt were either neuters, or inclined to the Treaſurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his myſterious and procraſtinating manner in acting; which the ſtate of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and muſt have rendered the Earl of *Oxford* inexcuſable, if the Queen's obſtinate temper had not put him under the neceſſity of exerting thoſe talents wherewith, it muſt be confeſſed, his nature was already too well provided.

This miniſter had ſtronger paſſions than the Secretary, but kept them under ſtricter government: My Lord *Bolingbroke* was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are ſuperior to common rules, he ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of diſguiſing, or ſubduing his reſentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of ſtate, as the Earl was too reſerved, ſo, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt

tempt of multiplying ſecrets; although the graver counſellors imputed this liberty of ſpeech to vanity, or lightneſs. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diverſions, their ſtudies, their ways of tranſacting buſineſs, their choice of company, or manner of converſation.

The Queen, who was well informed of theſe animoſities among her ſervants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cauſe, began to find, and lament the ill conſequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her Treaſurer, whoſe greateſt fault, in his whole miniſtry, was too much compliance with his Miſtreſs, by which his meaſures were often diſconcerted, and himſelf brought under ſuſpicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of *Oxford*, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one ſtep in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen firſt thought of making a change among her ſervants, after Doctor *Sacheverel*'s trial, my Lady *Maſham* was very much heard and truſted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr *Harley* was admitted into her Majeſty's preſence. That Lady was then in high favour with her Miſtreſs, which, I believe, the Earl was not ſo very ſedulous to cultivate or preſerve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether ſorry, when he ſaw it under ſome degree of declination. The reaſons for this muſt be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for ſuch a refinement, becauſe it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this Lady muſt have a ſucceſſor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obſtruct his proceedings. My Lady *Maſham* was a perſon of a plain, ſound underſtanding, of great truth and ſincerity, without the leaſt mixture of falſehood or diſguiſe; of an honeſt boldneſs and courage, ſuperior to her ſex; firm and diſintereſted in her friendſhip, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen her Miſtreſs: Talents as ſeldom found, or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while

they are there: So that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldneſs between this Lady and the firſt miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer or connive at the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly ſaw removed very diſadvantageouſly to another object *, and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk in the only domeſtic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the Earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: But this her Majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the Queen fell dangerouſly ſick at Windſor, about Chriſtmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's houſe: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the Queen's illneſs, to the Treaſurer, who was then in town; and, in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad, in his chariot, with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to Windſor till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face, and the account given of the confuſion and diſtraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: Upon which the Treaſurer ſaid to me, "Whenever any thing ails the Queen, "theſe people are out of their wits; and yet, they are "ſo thoughtleſs, that, as ſoon as ſhe is well, they act as "if ſhe were immortal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and

* The Ducheſs of Somerſet.

and that ſome ſhare of it might, with juſtice, be applied to himſelf.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was, indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her Majeſty, being well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the Queen immediately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts, and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old Engliſh principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She, therefore, determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods, that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to, for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord *Bolingbroke*, but by the Treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been thoroughly perſuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and, conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could not eaſily foreſee any objections, or difficulties that the Earl of *Oxford* would make; I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the General *, by telling both of them, (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage ſuch an union muſt be to her Majeſty's ſervice. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horſe and foot-guards appointed to attend on the Queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took every occaſion, with great freedom and bitterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry, upon the ſubject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many groſs expreſſions againſt the Queen herſelf; ſuch as, I ſuppoſe, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not ſuffered under

* The Duke of Ormond.

der the preſent powers. Which proceeding, beſides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her Majeſty's perſon might be better guarded than by ſuch keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the General or firſt miniſter, adjourned, to publiſh their diſaffection in coffee-houſes and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was propoſed, that ten or a dozen of the leaſt diſcreet among theſe gentlemen ſhould be obliged to ſell their poſts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greateſt lengths, ſhould have a price fixed for their commiſſions, ſomewhat below the exorbitant rate uſually demanded for a few years paſt. The Duke of *Ormond* deſired but ten thouſand pounds to make the matter eaſy to thoſe officers who were to ſucceed; which ſum, his Grace told me, the Treaſurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded preſent want of money: And, I cannot but ſay, that, having often, at the Duke's deſire, preſſed this miniſter to advance the money, he gave me ſuch anſwers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expoſtulating ſome days after with him upon the ſame ſubject, after great expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for the Duke of *Ormond*, and mentioning ſome ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he ſaid, he knew not why he ſhould do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the Duke, my Lord *Trevor*, and Mr Secretary *Bromley*, I could not find he had one friend left of any conſequence in her Majeſty's ſervice. The Lord Chancellor, Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lady *Maſham*, openly declared againſt him; to whom were joined the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* * and ſome others. *Dartmouth*, then Privy-ſeal, and *Paulet*, Lord Steward, ſtood neuters. The Duke of *Shrewſbury* hated the Treaſurer, but ſacrificed all reſentments to eaſe, profit, and power; and was then in *Ireland* acting a part directly oppoſite to the court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account; ſo that the Earl of *Oxford* ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the Queen's favour towards

* Dr *Atterbury*.

wards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff. Which, however, as conjunctures then ſtood, he was not able to obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done, while the parliament ſat, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially in the Houſe of Lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the Treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The Church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her Majeſty's ſervice, except the Duke of *Shrewſbury* and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion; the Queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at *Windſor*, had the like diſpoſitions; and, I think, it may appear from ſeveral paſſages already mentioned, that the blame of thoſe delays, ſo often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of *Oxford*'s door. But the ſtate of things was very much changed by ſeveral incidents: The Chancellor, Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Lady *Maſham*, had intirely forſaken him, upon ſuſpicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on miſtake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he firſt leſſened his confidence with the Queen, by preſſing her upon thoſe very points, for which his friends accuſed him that they were not performed; ſo, upon her change of ſentiments, after her recovery, he loſt all favour and credit with her, for not ſeconding thoſe new reſolutions from which ſhe had formerly been ſo averſe. Beſides he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly poſſible the Queen could ſurvive many months; in which caſe, he muſt of neceſſity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the ſucceſſor, and of that party which muſt then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if her Majeſty ſhould hold out longer than it was reaſonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that muſt procure him many new enemies, he could expect

nothing

nothing but to be diſcharged in diſpleaſure. Upon theſe reaſons he continued his excuſes to the Duke of *Ormond*, for not advancing the money; and, during the ſix laſt months of his miniſtry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the buſineſs of his office. That whole period was nothing elſe but a ſcene of murmuring and diſcontent, quarrel and miſunderſtanding, animoſity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; ſhe complained of his ſilence and ſullenneſs; and, in return, gave him every day freſh inſtances of neglect or diſpleaſure.

The original of this quarrel among the miniſters, which had been attended with ſo many ill conſequences, began firſt between the Treaſurer and Lord *Bolingbroke*, from the cauſes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the Treaſurer had dealt with leſs reſerve, or the Lord *Bolingbroke* had put that confidence in him which ſo ſincere a friend might reaſonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both ſides had not too much obſerved the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a ſhrug, was the conſtant anſwer I received from moſt of them, whenever I preſſed them upon the ſubject. I cannot tell whether my Lord *Trevor* may be excepted, becauſe I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr *Prior*, who was much loved and eſteemed by them both, as he well deſerved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private converſation, might have been the propereſt perſon for ſuch a work, if he could have thought it to conſiſt with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was abſent in *France* at thoſe junctures when it was chiefly neceſſary. And to ſay the truth, moſt perſons had ſo avowedly declared themſelves on one ſide or the other, that theſe two great men had hardly a common friend left except myſelf. I had ever been treated with great kindneſs by them both; and I conceived that

that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with ſincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had conſtant experience of. I had managed between them for almoſt two years; and their candour was ſo great, that they had not the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the Queen's being laſt at *Windſor*, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good underſtanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three biſhoprics for ſome time vacant in *Ireland*, and I had prevailed on the Earl of *Oxford*, that one of them ſhould be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the Queen, and approved by her; but, upon ſome difficulties not worth mentioning, the Queen's mandatory letters to *Ireland* had been delayed: I preſſed the Treaſurer every week, while her Majeſty was at *Windſor*, and every day after her return, to finiſh this affair, as a point of great conſequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of ſo many excuſes, I fell into ſome paſſion, when his Lordſhip freely told me, that he had been earneſt with the Queen upon *that* matter, about ten times the laſt fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died: And, two nights after, ſitting with him and Lord *Bolingbroke*, in Lady *Maſham*'s lodgings at *St James*'s, for ſome hours; I told the Treaſurer, that, having deſpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only ſtaid ſome time longer to forward the diſpoſal of thoſe biſhoprics in *Ireland*, which ſince his Lordſhip told me was out of his power, I now reſolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redreſs, nor endure the ſight of: That, before I left them, I deſired they would anſwer me two queſtions: Firſt, Whether theſe miſchiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? And, ſecondly, Whether, upon the preſent foot, the miniſtry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord *Bolingbroke* anſwered to each queſtion in the affirmative,

and approved of my reſolution to retire; but the Treaſurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only deſired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in *Berkſhire*, to await the iſſue, which ended in the removal of my Lord Treaſurer, and, three days after, in her Majeſty's death.

Thus I have, with ſome pains, recollected ſeveral paſſages, which I thought were moſt material for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who appear ſo much at a loſs upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late miniſtry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to ſee perſons of great and undiſputed abilities, called by the Queen to her ſervice, in the place of others with whoſe proceedings ſhe was diſguſted, and with great ſatisfaction to the clergy, the landed intereſt, and body of the people, running, on a ſudden, into ſuch a common beaten court-track of ruin, by diviſions among themſelves; not only without a viſible cauſe, but with the ſtrongeſt appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the uſual excuſe of evil inſtruments, or cunning adverſaries, to blow the coals of diſſenſion; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cauſe of theſe misfortunes to the Queen, who, from the variety of hands ſhe had employed, and reaſonings ſhe had heard ſince her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating ſchemes, which, as things then ſtood, were by no means reducible to practice; ſhe had likewiſe a good ſhare of that adherence to her own opinions, which is uſually charged upon her ſex. And, laſtly, (as I before obſerved) having received ſome hints that ſhe had formerly been too much governed, ſhe grew very difficult to be adviſed.

The next in fault was the Treaſurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom ſeemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himſelf, from a known principle of ſtate-prudence, that a firſt miniſter muſt always preſerve the reputation of power: But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The Queen was by no means inclined to make many changes

changes in employments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a *Saturday*, when the miniſters and one or two friends of the Treaſurer conſtantly met to dine at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain Lord, who perpetually oppoſed the Queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſides other advantages, gave that Lord the power of chuſing ſeveral members of parliament. The Treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, that this was whipping day: Upon which the Secretary *Bolingbroke*, turning to me, ſaid, It was a ſtrange thing that my Lord *Oxford* would not be ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own innocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the Chancellor's, (who was then alſo preſent) the Treaſurer had frequently and earneſtly moved the Queen upon that very point without effect: Whereupon, this Miniſter finding himſelf preſſed ſo far, told the company, that he had at laſt prevailed with her Majeſty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an inſtance of the Earl of *Oxford*'s diſpoſition to preſerve ſome reputation of power in himſelf, and remove all blame from the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent caſe; but how far juſtifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the Treaſurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himſelf: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the miniſtry having been effected without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady *Maſham*; but, likewiſe, from the conſequence of that change, whereby the greateſt employments of the kingdom were divided among them, and therefore, in common juſtice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real

failings,

failings, rather than ſuſpect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or miſtake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary *Bolingbroke*, as well as of the Treaſurer, that having myſelf, upon many occaſions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the Earl's conduct upon certain points, the Secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether miſtaken.

Laſtly, I cannot excuſe the remiſſneſs of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been, as it certainly was their intereſt, to have interpoſed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the miniſters: But of this I have already ſpoken.

CHAP. II.

[Written about a Year after.]

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing upon the other head, relating to the deſign of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of *Oxford*'s impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing ſide aſſured me, that the whole myſtery would be ſoon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cauſe upon that iſſue: This diſcovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: But, when that treatiſe appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an abſolute ſtate-pamphlet, arguing for a cauſe, than a dry recital of facts, or a tranſcript of letters; and, for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themſelves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in perſonal treaties between the Earl of *Oxford* and the Abbé *Gaultier*, which muſt needs be a doctrine hard of digeſtion to thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge either of the Earl or the Abbé, or upon what

what foot the latter ſtood at that time with the *Engliſh* miniſtry: I conceive that whoever is at diſtance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a meſſenger, will be as eaſily brought to believe all the Popiſh legends together. And to make ſuch an aſſertion, in a public report delivered to the Houſe of Commons, without the leaſt attempt to prove it, will ſome time or other be reckoned ſuch a ſtrain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a *Spaniſh* romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treaſon drawn up againſt the Earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at leaſt that thoſe important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furniſh out a pamphlet than an impeachment; ſince this accuſation hath no part even among the high crimes and miſdemeanors.

But, notwithſtanding all this, and that the Earl of *Oxford*, after two years reſidence in the Tower, was at length diſmiſſed without any trial; yet the reproach ſtill went on, that the Queen's laſt miniſtry, in concert with their Miſtreſs, were deeply engaged in a deſign to ſet the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accuſation I impute to the great goodneſs of thoſe in power, who are ſo gracious to aſſign a reaſon, or at leaſt give a countenance for that ſudden and univerſal ſweep they thought fit to make on their firſt appearance; whereas they might as well have ſpared that ceremony, by a ſhort recourſe to the royal prerogative, which gives every Prince a liberty of chuſing what ſervants he will.

There are two points which I believe myſelf able to make out. Firſt, that neither the late Queen nor her miniſters did ever entertain a deſign of bringing in the Pretender during her Majeſty's life, or that he ſhould ſucceed after her deceaſe.

Secondly, that if they conceived ſuch a deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute it from the firſt year of their miniſtry; becauſe, for at leaſt a year before the Queen's death, it was impoſſible to have put ſuch a deſign in execution.

I muſt premiſe with three circumſtances which have a great effect on me, and muſt have the like upon

thoſe among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only thoſe that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, diſcourſing at ſeveral times with ſome very eminent perſons of the oppoſite ſide, with whom I had long acquaintance, I aſked them ſeriouſly, whether they or any of their friends did in earneſt believe, or ſuſpect, the Queen or the miniſtry to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confeſſed for themſelves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a perſon, at preſent in great employment, ſaid to me with much frankneſs, "You ſet up the Church and *Sacheverel* againſt us, and we ſet up Trade and the Pretender againſt you."

The ſecond point I would obſerve is this, That, during the courſe of the late miniſtry, upon occaſion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curioſity to aſk almoſt every perſon in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except thoſe who profeſſed to be Nonjurors) that diſcovered the leaſt inclination towards the Pretender; and the whole number they could muſter up did not amount to above five or ſix, among which one was a certain old Lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little conſequence, and of a broken fortune: Yet I do not believe myſelf to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the Duke of *Buckingham*, in whoſe company I never was above once or twice at moſt: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonſtration, that, upon the Queen's death, if we except Papiſts and Nonjurors, there could not be five hundred perſons in *England*, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender; and, among theſe, not ſix of any quality or conſequence: But how it hath come to paſs that ſeveral millions are ſaid to have ſince changed their ſentiments, it ſhall not be my part to inquire.

The laſt point is of the ſame ſtrain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only thoſe who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the ſpace of almoſt four years, very nearly and

and perpetually converſant with thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of power, and this, in their times of leiſure as well as buſineſs, I could never hear one ſingle word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to obſerve, in a particular manner, what paſſed upon that ſubject. And I cannot but think, that, if ſuch an affair had been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds, at leaſt, for ſuſpicion. Becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And, I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience that I hear this matter ſummarily determined by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a libel or a coffee-houſe; or, at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point can have no influence further than my own perſonal credit reacheth, yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the Queen's miniſters never had it in their thoughts to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown.

For, firſt, when her Majeſty had determined to change her ſervants, it is very well known that thoſe, whom ſhe appointed to ſucceed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party, not only my Lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*, but a great majority of the reſt: Among which I can

immediately name the Dukes of *Shrewſbury*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *Peterborow*, *Rivers*, *Strafford*, *Ilay*, and *Orrery*; the Lords *Manſel*, and *Maſham*, with ſeveral others whom I cannot at preſent recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Dartmouth*, were the only perſons introduced at firſt, and very few afterwards: Which, I ſuppoſe, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original ſcheme of ſuch miniſters, and that they were by no means proper inſtruments for ſuch a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's diſpoſition, muſt believe ſhe had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender: She was highly and publicly diſpleaſed with my Lord *Bolingbroke*, becauſe he was ſeen under the ſame roof with that perſon at an Opera, when his Lordſhip was ſent to *France* upon ſome difficulties about the peace; Her Majeſty ſaid, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little miſtaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, ſhe would frequently let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, that made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid that her Majeſty began thoſe changes at court for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That when the former Chancellor, Preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my Lord *Cowper* is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever *perſuaded* to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of *party, and* that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs,

diſtreſs, upon my Lord *Nottingham*'s vote againſt any peace without *Spain*, for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending Lords, although with the laſt danger of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of towards ſettling the repoſe of *Europe*. She had, beſides, upon the removal of the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, choſen another great Lady † to ſucceed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her miniſters together: A Lady openly profeſſing the utmoſt averſion, from the perſons, the principles, and meaſures of thoſe who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own ſex, in every art of inſinuation: And this her Majeſty thought fit to do, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that could poſſibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would enſue. Her only objection againſt ſeveral clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a Lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently aſſured me, that whenever ſhe moved the Queen to diſcard ſome perſons, who, upon all occaſions, with great virulence, oppoſed the court; her Majeſty would conſtantly refuſe, and, at the ſame time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beſide all this, there never was a more ſtale or antiquated cauſe than that of the Pretender, at the time when her Majeſty choſe her laſt miniſters, who were moſt of them children or youths, when King *James* II. abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themſelves with ſpeculations upon government; and, conſequently, could have no ſcruples of conſcience in ſubmitting to the preſent powers, ſince they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the caſe of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King *James* II. were all either dead or in exile, or ſunk in obſcurity, laden with years and want; ſo that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underſtood that our anceſtors were only to anſwer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to profeſſed Nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thouſand, through *England*, who had other ſentiments. Nor can the

† Ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious diſaffection at preſent, becauſe the ſame thing hath happened before from the ſame cauſes in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the ſame event.

But ſuch a diſaffection could hardly have been raiſed againſt an abſent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ſtrong argument for the good diſpoſition, both in the miniſtry and kingdom, towards the Houſe of *Hanover*, that, during my Lord *Oxford*'s adminiſtration, there was never thrown out the leaſt reflection againſt that illuſtrious Houſe, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the ſmall party-writers could have thought, that, by ſuch a performance, they would have made their court to thoſe in power; and which would certainly have been a very uſeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the ſucceſſion to the crown. But, however, to ſay the truth, invectives againſt the abſent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render perſons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath ſhewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than deſpiſed, yet that maxim is better calculated for an abſolute monarchy than for the climate of *England*. But I am ſenſible this is a digreſſion; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her Majeſty with *France* and *Spain*, were calculated in ſeveral points directly againſt the Pretender, as he hath now found to his coſt, and as it is manifeſt to all the world. Neither could any thing be more ſuperficial than the politics of thoſe who could be brought to think that the Regent of *France* would ever engage in meaſures againſt the preſent King of *England*, and how the grimace of an ambaſſador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the caſe of the Earl of *Stairs*, ſhould ſerve ſo long for an amuſement, cannot ſufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief intereſt of the Duke of *Orleans* is woven and twiſted with that of King George; and this,

Whether

Whether it ſhall be thought convenient to ſuffer the young King of *France* to live longer, or not? For, in the ſecond caſe, the Regent perfectly agrees with our preſent King in this particular circumſtance, that the whole order of ſucceſſion hath been broken for his ſake; by which means he likewiſe will be incumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under one monarch. And, even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with *England*.

And, as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's miniſters, in their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent King ſucceeded to theſe crowns with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a Princeſs as her late Majeſty: The parliament was moſt unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new Monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign which *France* or *Spain* might probably have laid to make a diverſion by an invaſion upon *Scotland*, with the Pretender at the head, in caſe her Majeſty had happened to die during the courſe of the war: And, upon the death of the late *French* King, the Duke of *Orleans* fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with *England*; as the Queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the Queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into *Scotland*, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumſtance to a ſucceſſor and a ſtranger, yet the univerſal inclinations at that time in *England* towards the Houſe of *Hanover*, would, in all probability, have prevented the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize. But, on the other ſide, if the war had *continued* a year longer than her Majeſty's life, and

and the ſame cauſes had been applied to produce the ſame effects upon the affections of the people, the iſſue muſt inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a ſudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual to fortify the King's title, and ſecure his poſſeſſion, than that very peace ſo much exploded by one party, and ſo juſtly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the preſent ſituation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jeſt.

But if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, how could it come to paſs that the *Dutch*, who were guarantees of *that* ſucceſſion, and valued for zealous defenders of it, ſhould be ſo ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a ſhare in the *Aſſiento* trade, which the oppoſers of peace repreſented to be only a trifle. That the fact is true, I appeal to Monſieur de *Buys*, who, upon ſome difficulties the miniſtry were under by the Earl of *Nottingham*'s vote againſt any peace while *Spain* continued in the *Bourbon* family, undertook to make that matter eaſy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his Maſters, of all her Majeſty's proceedings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this further, that ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amidſt all the appearing diſcontents of the *Dutch*, a gentleman who had long reſided in *Holland*, and was occaſionally employed by the miniſters here, aſſured me that he had power from the Penſioner to treat with the Earl of *Oxford*, about ſending hither an extraordinary embaſſy from *Holland*, to declare that the States were fully ſatisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any diſcourſe about it with thoſe in power. For then their affairs were growing deſperate, by their quarrels among themſelves, and by the Earl of *Oxford*'s declination in the Queen's favour; both which became ſo public, as well as her Majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that, I ſuppoſe,

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thoſe circumſtances might eaſily cool the *Dutch* politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careleſs in cultivating a good correſpondence with the Houſe of *Hanover*. And, on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed to ſatisfy and inform the Elector, and his miniſters, in every ſtep taken by her Majeſty, and what offers were made to his Highneſs for any further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the Queen. To this purpoſe were all the inſtructions given to Earl *Rivers*, Mr *Thomas Harley*, Lord *Clarendon*, and ſome others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a fooliſh circumſtance, which hath often made me remember the common obſervation, of the greateſt events depending frequently upon the loweſt, vileſt, and obſcureſt cauſes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the iſſues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and obſervation, three or four very ſurprizing inſtances. I have ſeen an old bed-maker *, by officiouſly going to one door when gratitude as well as common ſenſe ſhould have ſent her to another, become the inſtrument of putting the nation to the expence of ſome thouſand lives, and ſeveral millions of money. I have known as great an event from the ſtupidity, or wilfulneſs of a beggarly *Dutchman* †, who lingered on purpoſe half an hour at a viſit, when he had promiſed to be ſomewhere elſe. Of no greater dignity was that circumſtance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late miniſtry to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of *Hanover*, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum, to a very inconſiderable *French* vagrant ‡, gave the

* Mrs *Foiſſon*, neceſſary-woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady *Maſham*.

† *Carew* Lord *Hunſden*, born and bred in *Holland*.

‡ *Robit'an*, then at *Hanover*, but in the ſervice of ſome other *German* Prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the Elector.

the opportunity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the Queen, the miniſters, and the whole *Britiſh* nation were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: That, if the Queen's miniſters had, with or without the knowledge of their Miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the Pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to have begun, and proſecuted that deſign, as ſoon as they came into her Majeſty's ſervice.

There were two circumſtances which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden. For the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abnorrence of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. And, as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity. So that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the caſe.

The other circumſtance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; her Majeſty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other diſorders, increaſing on her; ſo that whoever was near the court, for about the two laſt years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to propheſy. And how little a time the miniſters had for ſo great a work as that of changing the ſucceſſion of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by ſeveral Lords of the Church-party, in the laſt year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehenſion that the very quarrels among the miniſters might poſſibly be of ſome diſadvantage to the Houſe of *Hanover*. And the univerſal declaration, both among Lords and Commons,

mons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as againſt the Pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction that ſome years muſt have been ſpent in altering the diſpoſitions of the people. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall not ſoon forget what a great miniſter then ſaid to me, and which I have been ſince aſſured was likewiſe the Duke of *Shrewſbury*'s opinion, That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undiſturbed ſucceſſion; but the chief difficulty lay in the future diſaffection of the church, and people, and landed intereſt, from that univerſal change of men and meaſures, which he foreſaw would arrive. And it muſt be, to all impartial men, above a thouſand witneſſes, how innocent her Majeſty's ſervants were upon this article; that, knowing ſo well through what channels all favour was to paſs upon the Queen's demiſe, that, by their coming into power, they had utterly, and for ever, broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not out-bid by another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations th y affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. which truth *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as many ot

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ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe further than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that miſfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I muſt here take notice of an accuſation charged upon the late miniſtry, by the Houſe of Commons, that they put a lie, or falſehood, into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament Mr *Thomas Harley* was ſent to the Elector of *Hanover* with inſtructions, to offer his Highneſs any further ſecurities, for ſettling the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with her Majeſty's honour and ſafety. This gentleman writ a letter to the Secretary of State, a little before his return from *Hanover*, ſignifying in direct terms, that the Elector expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and deſired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to one of the Under-ſecretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleaſed him, and what he deſired might be as public as poſſible. Both theſe letters I have read; and the Queen, as ſhe had reaſon to ſuppoſe, being ſufficiently authorized by this notice from her miniſter, made mention of that information in a ſpeech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr *Harley* to have been charged with. From what hath ſince paſſed in the world, I ſhould indeed be inclined to grant, it might have been a compliment in his Highneſs, and perhaps underſtood to be ſo by the Queen; but, without queſtion, her Majeſty had a fair excuſe to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be ſo, the imputation of falſehood muſt remain where theſe accuſers of that excellent Princeſs's veracity will, I ſuppoſe, not profeſs (at leaſt) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I ſaid, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the miniſters were of the ſame opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleaſed God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

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I have already obſerved, how well it was known at court what meaſures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his ſucceſſion ſhould take place; and what hands he would employ in the adminiſtration of his affairs. I have likewiſe mentioned ſome facts and reaſons, which influenced and fixed his Highneſs in that determination, notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we conſider the diſpoſitions of *England* at that time, when almoſt the whole body of the clergy, a vaſt majority of the landed intereſt, and of the people in general, were of the Church-party; it muſt be granted that one or two acts, which might have paſſed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the ſucceſſor to have procured a Houſe of Commons of a different ſtamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the uſual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with ſucceſs after the election, againſt a majority, at leaſt, of three in four; becauſe the trouble and expence would be too great, beſide the loſs of reputation. For, neither could ſuch a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at ſo much charge and hazard merely for the ſake of governing by a ſmall party, againſt the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been ſufficiently provided for by the ſcheme intended. I ſuppoſe it need not be added, that the government of *England* cannot move a ſtep, while the Houſe of Commons continues to diſlike proceedings, or perſons employed, at leaſt in an age where parliaments are grown ſo frequent, and are made ſo neceſſary: Whereas a miniſter is but the creature of a day; and a Houſe of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will ſoon comprehend how eaſily the legiſlature, at that time, could have provided againſt the power and influence of a court, or miniſtry, in future elections, without the leaſt injury to the ſucceſſion, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating

petuating themſelves; which, however, I muſt needs grant to be one of the moſt effectual, vigorous, and reſolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King *Charles* I. although it ſhould be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I muſt again urge and repeat, that thoſe who charge the Earl of *Oxford*, and the reſt of that miniſtry, with a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at ſome difficulty to fix the time when that deſign was in agitation: For, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods when her Majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the Houſe of *Hanover* not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: All which, however, had no other conſequence than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs, and aſſurance to the Elector. During the laſt two years of the Queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was wondered how ſhe could hold out ſo long: And then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time, and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſenſions which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion could not be owing to any principle of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples have given but ſmall diſturbance of late years in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore the only teſt by which we are to judge the intentions of thoſe who manage public affairs, it would have been but reaſonable to have ſhewn how the intereſt of the Queen's miniſters

ſters could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with ſuch an intention. Her Majeſty was ſeveral years younger than her intended ſucceſſor, and, at the beginning of that miniſtry, had no diſorders except the gout, which is not uſually reckoned a ſhortner of life; and thoſe in chief truſt were, generally ſpeaking, older than their Miſtreſs: So that no perſons had ever a fairer proſpect of running on the natural life of an *Engliſh* miniſtry; conſidering, likewiſe, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an inſtance in hiſtory of a ſet of men, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo ſanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the viſible proſpect of a general defection, which (then at leaſt) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a miniſtry in ſuch circumſtances durſt engage in ſo dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their Sovereign. And as to the perſons then in ſervice, if they may be allowed to have common ſenſe, they would much ſooner have ſurrendered their employments, than hazard the loſs of their heads at ſo great odds, before they had tried or changed the diſpoſition of the parliament; which is an *accuſation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at leaſt till towards the end of their miniſtry; and then very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time, and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work impoſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late Queen, ſo little enterprizing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions, (as *reſtineſs* is commonly attended with ſlowneſs) ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It hath been objected againſt the late Queen and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition to-

wards the Houſe of *Hanover*, that the Electoral Prince was not invited to reſide in *England:* And, at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved, that this objection was raiſed and ſpread by the leaders of that party, who firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of Queen *Elizabeth*, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe *would* not live with her grave-ſtone always in her ſight; although the caſe be by no means parallel between the two Queens. For, in her late Majeſty's reign, the crown was as firmly ſettled on the *Hanover* Family as the legiſlature could do it: And the queſtion was only, whether the preſumptive heir, of diſtant kindred, ſhould keep his court in the ſame kingdom and metropolis with the Sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her Majeſty and the body of her people utterly diſapproved: And, therefore, the leaders on both ſides, when they were in power, did poſitively determine this queſtion in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reaſons were cogent enough; ſince differences may happen to ariſe between two princes the moſt nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a ſubject, the conſequence of family-diſſentions may not always be conſiderable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the miniſters; and did afterwards offer many reaſons for it in a diſcourſe intended for the public, (but ſtopped by the Queen's death) that the young grandſon (whoſe name I cannot remember) ſhould be invited over to be educated in *England*; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be ſecured from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a Prince of *Engliſh* manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true conſtitution of church and ſtate. And this was the judgment of thoſe at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their Miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued.

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Perhaps, from what hath ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on; wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and, I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: For I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the Prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it ſo falls out, that, among contending parties in *England*, the general intereſt of church and ſtate is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that, whoever profeſſeth to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as ours; and one ſide will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations of thoſe who diſlike the preſent eſtabliſhment, in order to make themſelves a balance againſt the other; and ſuch a party, compoſed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the ſeveral fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public intereſt; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-deſigning Prince, will probably, by the aſſiſtance of time or force, become the majority, unleſs they be prevented by a ſteadineſs, which there is little reaſon to hope, or by ſome revolution, which there is much more reaſon to fear. For abuſes in adminiſtration may laſt much longer than politicians ſeem to be aware of; eſpecially where ſome bold ſteps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legiſlature: In which caſe, as may happen in ſome ſtates, the whole body of the people are drawn in by their own ſuppoſed conſent,

to be their own enſlavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themſelves out of this labyrinth? Or, will they not rather wiſh to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever conſiders the courſe of the *Roman* Empire after *Cæſar*'s uſurpation, the long continuance of the *Turkiſh* government, or the deſtruction of the *Gothic* balance in moſt kingdoms of *Europe*, will eaſily ſee how controulable that maxim is, that, *res nolunt diu malé adminiſtrari:* Becauſe, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, ſo they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, conſidered as individuals, are exactly the ſame when they are molded into bodies; nor otherwiſe to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the conſequence will be the ſame as in the life of a particular man, whoſe vices are ſeldom known to end but with himſelf.

THE

THE
ADDRESS
OF THE
HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr SWIFT, at the Command of the LORD TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE of GRAFTON.]

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majeſty for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for communicating to this Houſe that peace is agreed on, ſo honourable to your Majeſty, and ſafe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the bleſſing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themſelves, after ſo long and expenſive a war. We likewiſe beg leave to congratulate with your Majeſty upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of *Europe* will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your Majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs. We never had the leaſt doubt but that your Majeſty, who is the greateſt ornament and protector of the Proteſtant Religion, would do every thing for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion; towards which nothing can be more neceſſary than the perfect harmony there is between your Majeſty and the Houſe of *Hanover*. And we do humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that, as you are pleaſed to expreſs your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourſelves bound, by the greateſt ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the moſt obedient ſubjects, to the moſt indulgent Sovereign.

AN

A N

A N E C D O T E

RELATIVE TO THE

PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr Helvetius was ſent from Paris, by Torcy to Devenwordt at the Hague, with the firſt propoſals for a peace ſeparate with *Holland*; a year after which the preliminaries, at *Gertruydenberg*, were tranſacted by the Mar. *D'Uxelles* and *Polignac*, and afterwards *Menager* was privately diſpatched to the ſame effect.

My Lord *Strafford* had the firſt intimation of theſe ſeparate tranſactions of *France* and *Holland*, from the Duke of *Marlborough*, (as a thing a good while before in agitation) and afterwards from *Devenwordt* himſelf, who told him that he ſent to *Paris* for Dr *Helvetius* to cure him of a rheumatiſm, which opportunity *Torcy* took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius ſince confirmed the ſame ſtory to my Lord *Strafford*, in the year 1720.

A CO-

A

COPY

OF

Dr SWIFT's MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15. 1714.

THE change of miniſtry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the proceedings ſince, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciouſly repreſented to poſterity, if they ſhould fall under the pen of ſome writer of the oppoſite party, as they probably may.

Upon theſe reaſons, it is neceſſary, for the honour of the Queen, and in juſtice to her ſervants, that ſome able hand ſhould be immediately employed to write the hiſtory of her Majeſty's reign; that the truth of things may be tranſmitted to future ages, and bear down the falſehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of *St Patrick*'s is ready to undertake this work, humbly deſiring her Majeſty will pleaſe to appoint him her hiſtoriographer, not from any view of the profit, (which is ſo inconſiderable that it will hardly ſerve to pay the expence of ſearching offices) but from an earneſt deſire to ſerve his Queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of acceſs to thoſe places where papers and records are kept, which will be neceſſary to any who undertake ſuch an hiſtory.

SOME

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9. 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late Majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*'s favour began to decline very ſoon after the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the Earl of *Godolphin*'s held not much above two years longer; although her Majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin* having fallen early into the intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons not ſeaſonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deſerve a place in the hiſtory of that reign) they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the Prince of *Denmark*, taking in ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr *Harley*, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation, and about the ſame time, Sir *Simon Harcourt*

Harcourt and Mr *St John*, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the Queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr *Harley* (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equal y known to her), was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret, and upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed, and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her Majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental-teſt, from the avowed principles, and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to repeat, that ill deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed.

Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The miniſtry were very ſuſpicious, that the Queen had ſtill a reſerve of favour for Mr *Harley*, which appeared by a paſſage that happened ſome days after his removal: For, the Earl of *Godolphin*'s coach and his happening to meet near *Kenſington*, the Earl a few hours after reproached the Queen, that ſhe privately admitted Mr *Harley*, and was not without ſome difficulty undeceived by her Majeſty's aſſeverations to the contrary.

Soon after the Doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the Queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs *Maſham*, was brought up the back-ſtairs; and that Princeſs, ſpirited by the addreſſes from all parts, which ſhewed the inclinations of her ſubjects to be very averſe from the proceedings in court and parliament, was reſolved to break the united power of the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* families, and to begin this work, by taking the diſpoſal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, lieutenant of the tower, whoſe employment was given to the Earl *Rivers*, to great diſcontent of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who intended it for the Duke *Northumber-*

land,

Land, then colonel of the *Oxford* regiment, to which the Earl of *Hartford* was to ſucceed. Some time after, the chamberlain's ſtaff was diſpoſed of to the Duke of *Shrewſbury* in the abſence, and without the privity of the Earl of *Godolphin*. The Earl of *Sunderland*'s removal followed, and laſtly that of the High Treaſurer himſelf, whoſe office was put into commiſſion, whereof Mr *Harley* (made at the ſame time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need ſay nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it ſuffice, that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that when the Queen began this change, ſhe had no intentions to carry it ſo far as the church-party expected, and have ſince been ſo impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe were a true profeſſor of the religion eſtabliſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alteration did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe apprehended to that or the government; but from a deſire to get out of the dominion of ſome, who ſhe thought had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon ſome occaſions, poſitive to a great degree. And when ſhe had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe thought, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe was inclined to ſtop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating ſcheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the ſame time I muſt confeſs my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made uſe of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her adviſers might think it eaſier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That theſe were her Majeſty's diſpoſitions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many inſtances. In the very height of the change, ſhe appeared very loth to part with two great officers of ſtate of the other party; and ſome, whoſe abſence the new miniſters moſt earneſtly wiſhed, held in for above two years after.

Mr *Harley*, who acted as firſt miniſter before he had *the ſtaff*, as he was a lover of gentle meaſures, and inclined

clined to procraſtination, ſo he could not, with any decency, preſs the Queen too much againſt her nature; becauſe it would be like running upon the rock where his predeceſſors had ſplit. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, againſt the principles and perſons of the low church party, gave this miniſter a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houſes, eſpecially among the commons, preſſed for a thorough change, and ſo did almoſt all the Queen's new ſervants, eſpecially after Mr *Harley* was made an Earl and High Treaſurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his Miſtreſs. And, as too much ſecreſy was one of his faults, he would often, upon theſe occaſions, keep his neareſt friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewiſe other views, which were better ſuited to the maxims of ſtate in general, than to that ſituation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the diſcontented party, he fell in with the Queen's humour, he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity, and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undiſpoſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other miniſters have done, that, ſince factions are neceſſary in ſuch a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the preſent one proſtrate, leſt another more plauſible, and therefore not ſo eaſy to grapple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjuſtly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig-party, whom he kept in upon the ſcore of old friendſhip or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the reſt of the miniſtry together.

A SERMON

UPON THE MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St *Patrick's, Dublin, Jan.* 30. 1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and bleſſed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather choſe to die on a ſcaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of thoſe who contrived the murder of that Prince, and have not yet ſhewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged that the obſervation of this day hath ſerved to continue and increaſe the animoſity and enmity among our countrymen,

men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the Restoration of the Martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations. Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, *lastly*, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the *first*, In the reign of this Prince, *Charles* the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the King were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before: And the best Princes we ever had carried their power much farther than the blessed Martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the succeeding Kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies: And, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by *Henry* VIII.; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further: Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under Queen *Mary*, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at *Geneva*, which is a commonwealth governed without a King, and where the religion, contrived by *Calvin*, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by Queen *Elizabeth*, those who fled to *Geneva* returned among the rest home to *England*, and were grown so fond of the

government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the ſame time continually preaching and railing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they diſliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troubleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great Queen, as well as her ſucceſſor King *James* I. Theſe people called themſelves PURITANS, as pretending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church eſtabliſhed. And theſe were the founders of our diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying inſtitutions of the Primitive Church, and, at laſt, even the government of biſhops; which, having been ordained by the apoſtles themſelves, had continued without interruption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not becauſe thoſe things were evil, but becauſe they were kept by the Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of *Geneva*, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

Theſe *Puritans*, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to be a conſiderable faction in the Kingdom, and in the Lower Houſe of parliament. They filled the public with the moſt falſe and bitter libels againſt the biſhops and clergy, accuſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Popery; and, at the ſame time, the Houſe of Commons grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the King, that they refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch conditions as he could not ſubmit to without forfeiting his conſcience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in ſuch an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of raiſing money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his ſide: For, wicked judges there were in thoſe times as well as in ours. There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſometimes juſtly, made againſt the proceedings of a certain court, called the

the *Star-chamber*, a judicature of great antiquity, but had ſuffered ſome corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubjects of complaint with the leaſt ground of reaſon, nor is it needful to recollect them, becauſe this gracious King did, upon the firſt application, redreſs all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardſhips for the future. But, that wicked faction in the Houſe of Commons, not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice and condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, joining with a factious party from *Scotland*, who had the ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an act for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief miniſter; and, at the ſame time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packt rabble, poiſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another law, by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſolve that parliament without their own conſent. Thus, by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that ever poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this Prince did in effect ſign his own deſtruction. For the Houſe of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unreaſonable demand, and, when he refuſed to grant it, made uſe of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houſes, without the King's conſent, ſhould be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reaſon and equity, as well as to the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in *Ireland* broke out, wherein his parliament refuſed to aſſiſt him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in perſon to ſubdue thoſe rebels. Theſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, forced the King to ſummon his loyal ſubjects to his ſtandard in his own defence. Mean while the *Engliſh* parliament, inſtead of helping the poor Proteſtants here, ſeized on the very army that his Majeſty was ſending over for our relief, and turned them againſt their own Sovereign. The rebellion in *England* continued for four or five years: At laſt the King was forced to fly in diſguiſe to the *Scots*, who ſold him to the rebels. And theſe *Puritans* had the impudent cruelty to try his ſacred perſon in a mock court of juſtice, and cut

off his head; which he might have ſaved, if he would have yielded to betray the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

In this whole proceeding *Simeon* and *Levi* were brethren, the wicked inſinuations of thoſe fanatical preachers ſtirring up the cruelty of the ſoldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the Houſe every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the leaſt inclination towards an agreement with the King, ſuffering only thoſe to enter who thirſted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this Prince was, in all reſpects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of his people. That odious parliament had firſt turned the biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords; in a few years after, they murdered their King; then immediately aboliſhed the whole Houſe of Lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of *Geneva*, without a King, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called the kingdom of Chriſt and his ſoints.

This is enough for your information on the firſt head: I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, The *Iriſh* rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *Engliſh* parliament. For the leaders in the *Iriſh* Popiſh maſſacre would never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the *Engliſh* Houſe of Commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the King from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and, therefore, we may truly ſay that the *Engliſh* parliament held the King's hands, while the *Iriſh* Papiſts here were cutting our grandfathers throats,

Secondly, That murderous *Puritan*-parliament, when they had all in their power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form either of religion or government, but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm,

ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and from one faction to another. From whence aroſe that wild confuſion ſtill continuing in our ſeveral ways of ſerving God, and thoſe abſurd notions of civil power, which have ſo often torn us with factions more than any other nation in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the riſe and progreſs of Atheiſm among us. For, men obſerving what numberleſs villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were eaſily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere impoſture: And the ſame ſpirit of infidelity, ſo far ſpread among us at this preſent, is nothing but the fruit of the ſeeds ſown by thoſe rebellious hypocritical ſaints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous ſpirit of the *Engliſh* nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of thoſe wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the mercileſs courts of juſtice.

Some of the worſt among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new ſet created, when the Martyr's ſon was reſtored, were ſuch who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the ſafety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at leaſt, I mean King *James* II. was ſeduced to Popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdoms, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idoltray. It was happy that his intereſts and ours were the ſame: And God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But, as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm is ſeldom rebuilt, without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that, ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factis

have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed Martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was the deſtroying or defacing ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes. *In their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.* If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in *England*, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of *Turks* or *Heathens* had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeized the veſſels of Silver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of prayer dens of theives, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe were the mildeſt effects of *Puritan*-zeal, and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder; yet as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes, of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of *England*, except one or two, adviſed the King, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects for building of ſhips,

ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifice a faithful ſervant to the rage of a faction, nor to truſt any body of men with a greater ſhare of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much leſs to depoſite it in their hands until they ſhall pleaſe to reſtore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the conſequences that have ariſen from it, we ſhall be convinced how neceſſary it is for thoſe in power to curb, in ſeaſon, all ſuch unruly ſpirits as deſire to introduce new doctrines and diſcipline in the church, or new forms of government in the ſtate. Thoſe wicked Puritans began, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, to quarrel only with ſurplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the croſs in baptiſm, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at laſt, they muſt needs have the whole government of the church diſſolved. This great work they compaſſed, firſt, by depriving the biſhops of their ſeats in parliament, then they aboliſhed the whole order; and, at laſt, which was their original deſign, they ſeized on all the church lands, and divided the ſpoil among themſelves; and, like *Jeroboam*, made prieſts of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and diſcarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to ſhew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty ſeveral ſorts of government; the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the ſon of him whom thoſe reformers had ſacrificed. And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* divided in *Jacob* and ſcattered in *Iſrael*.

Thirdly, Although the ſucceſſors of thoſe Puritans, I mean our preſent diſſenters, do not think fit to obſerve this day of humiliation; yet, ſincelt would be very proper in them, upon ſome occaſions, to renounce in a public manner thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors acted; and it will be more prudent in them

to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please, but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression: If his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will;) he ought to be fully satisfied,

ſied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe antient Puritan fanatics: They muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head: In anſwer to that objection of keeeping up animoſity and hatred between Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect, or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebel put in practice; I think it is the intereſt of all thoſe who love the church and King, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity, and the perpetual infamy of the *Engliſh* nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion: But the followers of thoſe who beheaded the Martyr, have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: Neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right. For, ſurely, Chriſt requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a *Turk* or an *Atheiſt* may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thankſgiving? And doth not the deſtruction of a church, a King, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocriſy, and cruelty of a wicked race of ſoldiers and preachers, and other ſons of Belial, equal-

ly require a ſolemn time of humiliation? eſpecially ſince the conſequences of that bloody ſcene ſtill continue, as I have already ſhewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I propoſed to diſcourſe on. But, before I conclude, I muſt give a caution to thoſe who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for abſolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and as the Apoſtle ſays, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is inthe ſame ſenſe, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever poſſeſſion we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in thoſe, or any other words of Scripture, to juſtify tyrannical power, or the ſavage cruelties of thoſe Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the Apoſtles: And ſo St *Paul* concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what? Why, *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe, the reward of them that do well.* There is is no more inward value in the greateſt Emperor, than in the meaneſt of his ſubjects: His body is compoſed of the ſame ſubſtance, the ſame parts, and with the ſame or greater infirmities: His education is generally worſe, by flattery, and idleneſs, and luxury, and thoſe evil diſpoſitions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore againſt common ſenſe, that his private perſonal intereſt, or pleaſure, ſhould be put in the balance with the ſafety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the ſight of God, equally capable of ſalvation; and it is for their ſakes, not his own, that he is intruſted with the government over them. He hath as high truſt as can ſafely be repoſed in one man, and, if he diſcharge it as he ought, he deſerves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His perſonal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his miniſters in the ſtate. To what height thoſe errors may be ſuffered to proceed, is not the buſineſs of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppreſſions grow too great and univerſal to be borne, nature or neceſſity may find a remedy. *But, if a* private perſon reaſonably expects pardon, *upon his amendment*, for all faults that are not capital

capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the ſame allowance to a Prince; who muſt ſee with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is ſo, in ſome degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may juſtly ſay in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it muſt be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the ſubjects will not rather chuſe to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the adminiſtration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preachers to grow fond of new viſions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy, or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of King *Charles* I.; but the late Revolution under the Prince of *Orange* was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, King *James* II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected, ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow-ſubjects, but even upon their Sovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable upon the preſent powers, by ſuppoſing any relation, or reſemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended by the ſame arguments which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyran-

ny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe was to give you warning againſt running into either extreme of two bad opinions with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which, however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it, but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed Martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chuſe a middle; to be good and loyal ſubjects, yet, according to your power, faithful aſſerters of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be ſtrict obſervers of the laws, which cannot be juſtly taken from you without your own conſent. In ſhort, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with thoſe who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, &c.

AN

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

COURT and EMPIRE of *JAPAN.*

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of *Japan* and began his reign in the year 341 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeding to *Nena*, a Princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and *Regoge*, ſucceſſor to *Nena*, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the Empreſs *Nena*, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were *Huſiges* and *Yortes*. The latter were thoſe whom *Nena*, the late Empreſs, moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

The *Huſige* faction, enraged at their loſs of power, made private applications to *Regoge* during the life of the Empreſs; which prevailed ſo far, that, upon her death, the new Emperor wholly diſgraced the *Yortes*, and employed only the *Huſiges* in all his affairs. The *Japaneſe* Author highly blames his Imperial Majeſty's proceeding in this affair; becauſe, it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating ſcheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly diſgracing the principal and moſt popular *Yortes*, ſome of which had been chiefly inſtrumental in raiſing him:

to the throne. By this miſtaken ſtep he occaſioned a rebellion; which, although it were ſoon quelled by ſome very ſurpriſing turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in ſuch immenſe charges, that, inſtead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the moſt profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vaſt addition to the old incumbrance.

This Prince, before he ſucceeded to the empire of *Japan*, was King of *Tedſu*, a dominion ſeated on the continent, to the weſt-ſide of *Japan*. *Tedſu* was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he ſpent ſome months almoſt every year, and thither was ſuppoſed to have conveyed great ſums of money, ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon *Tedſu*: Of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and, to ſupport it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his *Japaneſe* revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the *Japaneſe* empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which ſome authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of *Brennus*, who ravaged a great part of *Aſia*; and thoſe of them who fixed in *Japan*, left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the northern people, in enſuing ages, carried through moſt parts of *Europe*; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every centenary of private ſoldiers; and, in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The *Huſige* faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the *Vortes*, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of *Regege* before he came to the empire, that this Prince firmly believed them to be his

his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The Emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to *Tedſu*; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This Prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of *Japan*; and paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privadoes, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy in his perſonal revenues, and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt Miniſter, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in *Japan*, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the Prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the Hiſtorian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

The miniſter above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the *Yortes*. He had been formerly diſgraced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He was perfectly ſkilled, by long practice, in the ſenatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchaſing of votes, from thoſe who could find their accounts better in complying with his meaſures, than they could probably loſe by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He ſeemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never ſcrupling openly to lay out vaſt ſums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchaſing eſtates; when it was known, that, upon his firſt coming into buſineſs, upon the death of the Empreſs *Nena*, his fortune was

but inconſiderable. He had the moſt boldneſs, and the leaſt magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependents, in a moſt exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a ſupport againſt an evil day. He had the beſt among all falſe appearances of courage, which was a moſt unlimited aſſurance, whereby he would ſwagger the boldeſt men into a dread of his power, but had not the ſmalleſt portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and diſgracing every man, who was known to bear the leaſt civility to thoſe he diſliked. He had ſome ſmall ſmattering in books, but no manner of politeneſs; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one perſon upon the ſcore of wit, learning, or abilities for buſineſs. The whole ſyſtem of his miniſtry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or penſion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatning them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the Emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at in chuſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the increaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the Emperor; would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the Emperor's death, and the Prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, mounted the throne of *Japan*.

The new Emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual *abſence*, never truſted him more than once with the reins *of government*, which he held ſo evenly that he became

too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the *Tortes*, at leaſt not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father proceeded againſt them; and therefore, immediately upon his ſucceſſion, the principal perſons of that denomination came, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courteſy, and ſome of them with particular marks of diſtinction.

The Prince, during the reign of his father, having not been truſted with any public charge, employed his leiſure in learning the language, the religion, the cuſtoms, and diſpoſition of the *Japaneſe*; wherein he received great information, among others, from *Nemptec*, maſter of his finances, and preſident of the ſenate, who ſecretly hated *Lelop-Aw*, the miniſter; and likewiſe from *Ramneb*, a moſt eminent ſenator, who, deſpairing to do any good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavour to inſtil good principles into the young Prince.

Upon the news of the former Emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the Succeſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new Emperor having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed *Lelop-Aw* to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the ſenate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that miniſter having delivered, according to his uſual manner, with much aſſurance and little ſatisfaction, the Emperor deſired to be fully ſatisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vaſt expence of chuſing ſuch members into the ſenate, as would be content to do the public buſineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary?

Whether thoſe members, thus choſen in, would c and *impede the* neceſſary courſe of affairs, unleſs

were ſupplied with great ſums of money, and continued penſions?

Whether the ſame corruption and perverſeneſs were to be expected from the Nobles?

Whether the empire of *Japan* were in ſo low a condition, that the imperial Envoys, at foreign courts, muſt be forced to purchaſe alliances, or prevent a war by immenſe bribes, given to the miniſters of all the neighbouring Princes?

Why the debts of the empire were ſo prodigiouſly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the *Yortes* were univerſally enemies to the religion and laws of the Empire, and to the Imperial Family now reigning?

Whether thoſe perſons, whoſe revenues conſiſt in lands, do not give ſurer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more intereſted in the welfare of the empire, than others whoſe fortunes conſiſt only in money?

And becauſe *Lelop-Aw*, for ſeveral years paſt, had engroſſed the whole adminiſtration, the Emperor ſignified, that from him alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enough to cultivate an intereſt in the young Prince's family, during the late Emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emiſſaries of what was intended at the council, and had ſufficient time to frame as plauſible an anſwer as his cauſe and conduct would allow. However, having deſired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner.

SIR,

Upon this ſhort unexpected warning, to anſwer your Imperial Majeſty's queries I ſhould be wholly at a loſs, in your Majeſty's auguſt preſence, and that of this moſt noble aſſembly, if I were armed with a weaker defence than my own loyalty and integrity, and the proſperous ſucceſs of my endeavours.

It is well known that the death of the Empreſs *Nena* happened in a moſt miraculous juncture; and that,

if ſhe had lived two months longer, your illuſtrious family would have been deprived of your right, and we ſhould have ſeen an uſurper upon your throne, who would have wholly changed the conſtitution of this empire, both civil and ſacred; and although that Empreſs died in a moſt opportune ſeaſon, yet the peaceable entrance of your Majeſty's father was effected by a continual ſeries of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the *Yortes* raiſed, without the leaſt provocation, in the firſt year of the late Emperor's reign, which may be ſufficient to convince your Majeſty, that every ſoul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favourer of the Pretender, a mortal enemy to your illuſtrious family, and an introducer of new gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and, ſince a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favour the *Yorte*'s faction, who, in the regular courſe of elections, muſt certainly be choſen members of the ſenate then to be convoked; it was neceſſary, by the force of money, to influence elections in ſuch a manner, that your Majeſty's father might have a ſufficient number to weigh down the ſcale on his ſide, and thereby carry on thoſe meaſures which could only ſecure him and his family in the poſſeſſion of the empire. To ſupport this original plan I came into the ſervice: But the members of the ſenate, knowing themſelves every day more neceſſary, upon the chuſing of a new ſenate, I found the charges to increaſe; and that, after they were choſen, they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their penſions; becauſe they well knew that the work could not be carried on without them: And I was more general in my donatives, becauſe I thought it was more for the honour of the crown, that every vote ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and that, when a debate was propoſed, it ſhould immediately be quaſhed, by putting the queſtion.

SIR, The date of the preſent ſenate is expired, and your Imperial Majeſty is now to convoke a new one; which, I confeſs, will be ſomewhat more expenſive than the laſt, becauſe the *Yortes*, from your favour-

able

able reception, have begun to reaſſume a ſpirit whereof the country had ſome intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be ſtill in that fatal intereſt. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred thouſand ſprangs *, to return as great a majority of ſenators of the true ſtamp, as your Majeſty can deſire. As to the ſums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in ſome years, to eaſe the nation of them, when we and our neighbours come to a good underſtanding. However, I will be bold to ſay, they are cheaper than a war, where your Majeſty is to be a principal.

The penſions, indeed, to ſenators and other perſons muſt needs increaſe, from the reſtiveneſs of ſome, and ſcrupulous nature of others; and the new members, who are unpractiſed, muſt have better encouragement. However, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thouſand ſprangs. But, to make this eaſy, there ſhall be new funds raiſed, of which I have ſeveral ſchemes ready, without taxing bread or fleſh, which ſhall be referred to more preſſing occaſions.

Your Majeſty knows it is the laudable cuſtom of all Eaſtern Princes, to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and military, to their Viſirs. The appointments for your family, and private purſe, ſhall exceed thoſe of your predeceſſors: You ſhall be at no trouble, further than to appear ſometimes in council, and leave the reſt to me: You ſhall hear no clamour or complaints: Your ſenate ſhall, upon occaſions, declare you the beſt of Princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Aſia, the defender of the oppreſſed, and the delight of mankind.

SIR, Hear not thoſe who would moſt falſely, impiouſly, and maliciouſly inſinuate, that your government can be carried on without that wholeſome, neceſſary expedient, of ſharing the public revenue with your faithful deſerving ſenators. This, I know, my enemies are pleaſed to call bribery and corruption. Be it ſo: But I inſiſt, that, without this bribery and

* About a million Sterling.

and corruption, the wheels of government will not turn, or at leaſt will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unleſs they be greaſed at proper times. If an angel from heaven ſhould deſcend, to govern this empire upon any other ſcheme than what our enemies call corruption, he muſt return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

SIR, It is well known we are a trading nation, and conſequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their ſhops, or the plough, for the ſervice of their country, are they not to be conſidered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their perſons, the loſs of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the ſenate, in a country where they are ſtrangers, before the very lords of the ſoil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your Majeſty's ſervice, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the luſtre of their ſtations?

SIR, If I have given great numbers of the moſt profitable employments among my own relations and neareſt allies, it was not out of any partiality, but becauſe I know them beſt, and can beſt depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntſman, who hath the abſolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whoſe manner and cry he is a ſtranger.

SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all thoſe who beſt knew your royal father, whether that bleſſed Monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or diſappointment, or uneaſineſs, or want of money for all his occaſions, during the time of my adminiſtration? And, how happy the people confeſſed themſelves to be under ſuch a King, I leave to their own numerous addreſſes; which all politicians will allow to be the moſt infallible proof how any nation ſtands affected to the Sovereign.

Lelop-Aww,

Lelop-Aw, having ended his ſpeech and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in *Japan*, ſat down, with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the Emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his Majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by *Lelop-Aw*.

OF

OF

PUBLIC ABSURDITIES

IN *ENGLAND.*

IT is a common topic of ſatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of miniſters of ſtate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obſcure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a diſh of coffee, ſhall preſume to cenſure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form ſchemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this uſually ridiculed as a pragmatical diſpoſition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poſſibly be true: And yet I am groſly deceived if any ſober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuſtoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reaſon be tempted, according to the preſent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were ſanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miſtake of wiſe and good men, that they expect more reaſon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any ſort capable of. Whoever hath been preſent at councils or aſſemblies of any ſort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have obſerved ſuch reſults and opinions to have frequently paſſed a majority, as he would be aſhamed to advance in private converſation. I ſay nothing of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and the like, becauſe theſe are fairly to be accounted for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions and intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected.

And, as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt, which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the *Gauls*, the *Britons*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient hiſtory.

By theſe and the like reflexions, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country, moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniencies to the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſeth a different form of worſhip from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members in the Houſe of Commons. Becauſe every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmoſt to bring in a repreſentative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in *England*, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity. For, it is no part of our buſineſs to be a warlike nation, otherwiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in *England* can be of no uſe, except to awe ſenates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but, that it ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknowledgment of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry intended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted, (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original

ginal inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince, or a tolerable miniſtry;) they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to leave the people to their own free choice: The members would then conſiſt of perſons who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at leaſt never of ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons muſt be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of the wants and deſires of their ſeveral boroughs and counties. To chuſe a repreſentative for *Berwick*, whoſe eſtate is at the *Land's End*, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſin; how much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for boroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom.

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a free-hold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty ſhillings a-year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings in thoſe ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe: For any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many freeholders as his eſtate or ſettlement will allow, by making leaſes for life of land at a rack-rent of forty ſhillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a-year, when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practiſed upon this occaſion.

It is likewiſe abſurd, that boroughs decayed are not abſolutely extinguiſhed; becauſe the returned members do in reality repreſent nobody at all, and that ſeveral large towns are not repreſented, though full of induſtrious townſmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of Senators, to have themſelves and ſervants exempted from law-ſuits and arreſts, is manifeſtly abſurd. The proceedings at law are already ſo ſcandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing to pay his juſt debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the deciſion of the law, is ſurely but ill-qualified to be a legiſlator. A criminal, with as good reaſon, might ſit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honeſty. By the annual ſitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and ſubſequent, a Senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common juſtice.

That the ſacred perſon of a Senator's footman ſhould be free from arreſt, although he undoes the poor alewife by running on ſcore, is a circumſtance of equal wiſdom and juſtice, to avoid the great evil of his maſter's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

SHORT REMARKS ON BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

THIS author is in moſt particulars the worſt qualified for an hiſtorian that ever I met with. His ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often *Scotch*, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people. He diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His obſervations are mean and trite, and very often falſe. His Secret Hiſtory is generally made up of coffee-houſe ſcandals, or at beſt from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of conſequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little *Scotch* parſon of 40 pounds a-year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden, daughter of a *Scotch* Earl, to marry him. His characters are miſerably wrought, in many things miſtaken, and all of them detracting, except of thoſe who were friends to the Preſbyterians. That early love of liberty he boaſts of is abſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he ever publiſhed is an entire treatiſe in favour of paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his reflexions on the clergy, for aſſerting, and then changing thoſe principles, come very improperly from him. He is the moſt partial of all writers that ever pretended *ſo much to impartiality*; and yet I, who knew him well,

well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could poſſibly find in his heart; I am ſure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papiſt and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called A Hiſtory of *Scotland* during the author's time, with ſome digreſſions relating to *England*, rather than deſerve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their inſignificant brangles and factions. What he ſucceeds beſt in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, moſt of them being ſtill in memory, eſpecially the ſtory of the Revolution; which, however, is not ſo well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it. After all, he was a man of generoſity and good nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten laſt years, was abſolute party-mad, and and fancied he ſaw Popery under every buſh. He hath told me many paſſages not mentioned in this Hiſtory, and many that are, but with ſeveral circumſtances ſuppreſſed or altered. He never gives a good character without one eſſential point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and ſome other words and phraſes, he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

AN

AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Invaſion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE moſt antient account we have of *Britain* is, that the iſland was full of inhabitants, divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, as moſt nations of the world appear to have been at firſt. The bodies of the *Britons* were painted with a ſky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or elſe for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the Jews.

Their prieſts were called Druids: Theſe lived in hollow trees, and committed not their myſteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly loſt.

The *Britons* had wives in common, ſo many to a particular tribe or ſociety, and the children were in common to that ſociety.

About fifty years before Chriſt, *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt *Roman* Emperor, having conquered *Gaul* or *France*, invaded *Britain* rather to increaſe his glory than conqueſts; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invaſion of *Britain* by the *Romans* (then maſters of moſt of the known world) was in the reign of the Emperor *Claudius*; but it was not wholly ſubdued till that *of Nero*. It was governed by Lieutenants,

or

or Deputies, ſent from *Rome*, as *Ireland* is now by Deputies from *England*; and continued thus under the *Romans* for about 460 years; till that empire, being invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Romans* were forced not only to recal their own armies, but alſo to draw from hence the braveſt of the *Britons*, for their aſſiſtance againſt thoſe Barbarians.

The *Roman* conqueſts in this iſland reached no further northward than to that part of *Scotland* where *Stirling* and *Glaſgow* are ſeated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians* and *Picts*; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infeſted the *Britiſh* borders. Therefore the Emperor *Severus* built a wall, from *Stirling* to *Glaſgow*, to prevent the invaſions of the *Picts*: It is commonly called the *Picts Wall*.

Theſe *Picts* and *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, encouraged by the departure of the *Romans*, do now cruelly infeſt and invade the *Britons* by ſea and land: The *Britons* chuſe *Vortigern* for their King, who was forced to invite the *Saxons*, (a fierce northern people) to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe Barbarians. The *Saxons* came over, and beat the *Picts* in ſeveral battles; but, at laſt, pick quarrels with the *Britons* themſelves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven kingdoms in *Britain*, (by them now called *England*.) Theſe ſeven kingdoms are uſually ſtiled the *Saxon Heptarchy*.

About this time lived King *Arthur* (if the whole ſtory be not a fable) who was ſo famous for beating the *Saxons* in ſeveral battles

The *Britons* received Chriſtianity very early, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: So that, when the *Romans* left *Britain*, the *Britons* were generally Chriſtians. But the *Saxons* were Heathens, till *Pope Gregory* the Great ſent over hither *Auſtin* the Monk, (*A. D.* 600.) by whom *Ethelbert* King of the *South-Saxons*, and his ſubjects, were converted to Chriſtianity; and the whole iſland ſoon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this iſland among the kingdoms of the *Saxons*, Egbert, deſcended from

the

the *West-Saxon* Kings, *(A. D. 819.)* became the monarch of *England*.

The language in *Britain* was *British*, (now called *Welch*) or *Latin*; but, with the *Saxons*, *English* came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called *England* from the *Angles*, who were a branch of the *Saxons*.

As soon as the *Saxons* were settled, the *Danes* began to trouble and invade them, as they (the *Saxons*) had before done the *Britons*.

These *Danes* came out of *Germany*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, a rough warlike people, little different from the *Saxons*, to whom they were near neighbours.

After many invasions from the *Danes*, *Egbert* King of *England* sets forth the first navy. He was crowned King of all *Albion*, an old name of this island, and was the first absolute monarch. He made peace with the *Danes*, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the *English*.

In this Prince's time there were five Kings in *Wales*, who all did him homage for their country.

These *Danes* began first to make their invasions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of *London*, *Winchester*, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in *England*, fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the *Saxon* Kings. In process of time they mixed with the *English* (as was said before) and destroyed the *Saxon* government: But *Ethelred*, then King of *England*, weary of the *Danish* insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the *Danes* are massacred *(A. D. 1012)* in one day all over *England*.

Four years after, *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades *England*, and after battles fought, and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing *Ethelred* to fly into *Normandy*.

Sweyn

Sweyn dying, his ſon *Canutus* ſucceeds in the kingdom; but *Ethelred* returning with an army, *Canutus* is forced to withdraw to *Denmark* for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon *Edmond Ironſide* ſucceeds; but *Canutus* returning with freſh forces from *Denmark*, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. *Edmond* dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by *Canutus*, who is now ſole King of *England*.

Hardicanute, the laſt *Daniſh* King, dying without iſſue, *Edward*, ſon of *Ethelred*, is choſen King. For his great holineſs, he was ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our Princes that attempted to cure the King's evil, by touching. He firſt introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the *Engliſh* gentry, of uſing the *French* tongue and faſhions, in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in *Normandy*.

The *Daniſh* government in *England* laſted but twenty-ſix years, under three Kings.

Edward the Confeſſor married the daughter of Earl *Godwin*, an *Engliſh* nobleman of great power, but of *Daniſh* extraction; but, wanting iſſue, he appointed *Edgar Atheling*, grandſon to his brother, to ſucceed him, and *Harold*, ſon of Earl *Godwin* to be Governor of the young Prince. But, upon *Edward*'s death, *Harold* neglected *Edgar Atheling*, and uſurped the crown for himſelf.

Edward, while he was in *Normandy*, met ſo good reception, that it was ſaid he made a promiſe to that Duke, that, in caſe he recovered his kingdom, and died without iſſue, he would leave it to him. *Edward* dying, *William* Duke of *Normandy* ſends to *Harold* to claim the crown; but *Harold* now in poſſeſſion, reſolves to keep it. Upon which Duke *William*, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades *England*, lands at *Haſtings*, ſets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To *Harold* he ſent his meſſenger, demanding the kingdom and his ſubjection: But *Harold* returned him this anſwer, That, unleſs he departed his land, he would make him ſenſible of his juſt diſpleaſure. So *Harold* advanced his forces into *Suſ-*

ſex,

ſex, within ſeven miles of his enemy. The *Norman* Duke, to ſave the effuſion of blood, ſent theſe offers to *Harold*; either wholly to reſign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in ſingle combat. To this *Harold* did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The *Normans* had gotten the worſt, if it had not been for a ſtratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement *Harold* was killed, and *William* Duke of *Normandy* became King of *England*, under the name of *William* the Conqueror.

SOME

SOME FEW

THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either ſide who have written upon this ſubject of the Teſt, in making or anſwering objections, ſeem to fail by not preſſing ſufficiently the chief point upon which the controverſy turns. The arguments uſed by thoſe who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the preſent corruptions of mankind, becauſe the authors treat this ſubject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non fæce Romuli.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that, conſidering how few employments of any conſequence fall to the ſhare of thoſe *Engliſh* who are born in this kingdom, and thoſe few very dearly purchaſed, at the expence of conſcience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: And, if nothing but profit were in the caſe, it would hardly coſt me one ſigh when I ſhould ſee thoſe few ſcraps thrown among every ſpecies of Fanatics, to ſcuffle for among themſelves.

And this will infallibly be the caſe, after repealing the Teſt. For, every ſubdiviſion of ſect will, with equal juſtice, pretend to have a ſhare; and, as it is uſual with ſharers, will never think they have enough, while

while any pretender is left unprovided. I ſhall not except the Quakers; becauſe, when the paſſage is once let open for all ſects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confeſs, was firſt put into my head by one of the ſhrewdeſt Quakers in this kingdom *.

* Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr *Swift* was the late Mr *Rooke*; a man who had a very good taſte for wit, had read abundance of hiſtory, and was perhaps the moſt learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the beſt of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous paſtoral in the Quaker-ſtyle.

MAXIMS

CONTROLLED

IN *IRELAND.*

The Truth of ſome Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long obſervation and experience, drawn from the conſtant practice of the wiſeſt nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all theſe Maxims do neceſſarily preſuppoſe a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the ſame natural rights common to the reſt of mankind who have entered into civil ſociety. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could inſtitute them into a republic, an allowance muſt be made for thoſe material defects, wherein they differed from other mortals. Or, imagine a legiſlator forming a ſyſtem for the government of *Bedlam*, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a ſociable animal, ſhould draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general aſſemblies; the conſequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the houſe over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and ſhort thinkers, who reaſon upon general topics, without the leaſt allowance for the moſt important circumſtances, which quite alter the nature of the caſe.

This hath been the fate of thoſe ſmall dealers, who are every day publiſhing their thoughts either on paper or in their aſſemblies for improving the trade of *Ireland*, and referring us to the practice and example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or other nations.

I ſhall

I ſhall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally paſs for uncontrolled in the world, and conſider how far they will ſuit with the preſent condition of this kingdom.

Firſt, it is affirmed by wiſe men, that the dearneſs of things neceſſary for life, in a fruitful country, is a certain ſing of wealth and great commerce: For, when ſuch neceſſaries are dear, it muſt abſolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifeſtly falſe in *Ireland*, for the following reaſon. Some years ago, the ſpecies of money here did probably amount to ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and I have good cauſe to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the caſh brought in to us. But the prodigious diſcouragements we have ſince received in every branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements, and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under cuſtom-houſe officers, the yearly addition of abſentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers reſiding in *England*, the unexpected ſudden demands of great ſums from the treaſury, and ſome other drains of perhaps as great conſequence, we now ſee ourſelves reduced to a ſtate (ſince we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at leaſt, if our enemies were of ſuch a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now paſſed ſince the Revolution, when the contention of the *Britiſh* empire was, moſt unfortunately for us, and altogether againſt the uſual courſe of ſuch mighty changes in government, decided in the leaſt important nation, but with ſuch ravages and ruin executed on both ſides, as to leave the kingdom a deſart, which, in ſome ſort, it ſtill continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half ſuch a deſtruction of houſes, plantations, and perſonal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting *England*'s battles.

By ſlow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auſpicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our abſentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a conſider-

ſiderable ſhare in employments of church and ſtate; and, while the ſhort leaſes continued, which were let ſome years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with eaſe and chearfulneſs, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a ſpirit of oppreſſion that is not eaſy removed. And although, in theſe ſhort leaſes, the rent was gradually to increaſe after ſhort periods; yet, as ſoon as the term elapſed, the land was let to the higheſt bidder, moſt commonly without the leaſt effectual clauſe for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this iſland then poſſeſſed, and hath ſince utterly loſt, the rents of lands ſtill grew higher upon every leaſe that expired, till they have arrived at the preſent exorbitance: when the frog, overſwelling himſelf, burſt at laſt.

With the price of land, of neceſſity roſe that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: Hence likewiſe, obviouſly, the rates of all goods and manufactures among ſhopkeepers, the wages of ſervants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miſeries came on faſt, with neither trade nor money left, yet, neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent muſt be paid with, nor any ſhopkeeper, tradeſman, or labourer live at lower expence, for food and cloathing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this firſt head, becauſe the ſame obſervations will clear up and ſtrengthen a good deal of what I ſhall affirm upon the reſt.

The ſecond Maxim of thoſe who reaſon upon trade and government, is to aſſert, that low intereſt is a certain ſign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of *Holland* and *England*. But, with relation to *Ireland*, this Maxim is likewiſe entirely falſe.

There are two reaſons for the lowneſs of intereſt in any country. Firſt, that which is uſually alledged, the great plenty of ſpecie; and this is obvious. The ſecond is the want of trade, which ſeldom falls under common obſervation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether diſcouraged, there are few borrowers. In thoſe countries where men can employ

a large

a large ſtock, the young merchant, whoſe fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much mo e, and can afford a reaſonable intereſt. Neither is it eaſy at this day to find many of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs reaches to employ even ſo inconſiderable a ſum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have moſt part of the preſent trade in theſe parts of *Ireland* in their hands, ſo they are the moſt exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all poſſible ſpeed to ruin both themſelves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemens not knowing how to diſpoſe of their ready money, ariſeth the high purchaſe of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a ſign of wealth. For, the frugal ſquires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to diſpoſe of their ſavings but by mortgage or purchaſe, by which the rates of land muſt naturally increaſe; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to ſend their caſh to *England*, and place it in the funds; which I myſelf am determined to do, the firſt conſiderable ſum I ſhall be maſter of.

It hath likewiſe been a maxim among politicians, that the great increaſe of buildings in the metropolis argues a flouriſhing ſtate. But this, I confeſs, hath been controlled, from the example of *London*; where, by the long and annual parliamentary ſeſſions, ſuch a number of ſenators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw ſuch prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hoſpitable cuſtom of lords and gentlemen living in their antient ſeats, among their tenants, is almoſt loſt in *England*; is laughed out of doors; in ſo much that, in the middle of ſummer, a legal Houſe of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to *London*, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The caſe in *Ireland* is yet ſomewhat worſe: For the abſentees of great eſtates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and ſhorten their *leaſes, as much* as any reſiding ſquire; and the few

few remaining of theſe latter, having ſome vain hope of employments for themſelves or their children, and diſcouraged by the beggarlineſs and thievery of their own miſerable farmers and cottagers, or ſeduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education, (whereof the fruits are ſo apparent) together with that moſt wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a ſeat in their aſſembly, though at ſome years purchaſe of their whole eſtates. Theſe, and ſome other motives better let paſs, have drawn ſuch a concourſe to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the ſeveral branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houſes, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a ſeventh part of the whole city, are ſaid to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the ſame with that which was firſt introduced by Dr *Barebone* at *London*, who died a bankrupt. The maſon, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the ſlater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houſes, unite their credit, their ſtock, and their money, and, when their work is finiſhed, ſell it to the beſt advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not anſwer half their deſign, they are forced to underſell it at the firſt ſtory, and are all reduced to beggary. In ſo much that I know a certain fanatic brewer *, who is reported to have ſome hundreds of houſes in this town, is ſaid to have purchaſed the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houſes where the finiſhing is at a ſtand, takes advantage of the builder's diſtreſs, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at leaſt for his bargain.

It is another undiſputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is ſo univerſally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be ſo far true, even in this iſland, that, if we had the *African* cuſtom or privilege, of ſelling our uſeleſs bodies for ſlaves to foreigners, it would be the moſt uſeful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a moſt unſupportable burden, and

* Leſon.

and bringing us money in their ſtead. But, in our preſent ſituation, at leaſt five children in ſix who are born ly a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very ſkillful computer aſſured me, that above one half of the ſouls in this kingdom ſupported themſelves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: Where that fails, the poorer native muſt either beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wiſh, for ſome years paſt, that, inſtead of diſcouraging our people from ſeeking foreign ſoil, that the public would rather pay for tranſporting all our unneceſſary mortals, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, to *America*, as drawbacks are ſometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overſtocked. I confeſs myſelf to be touched with a very ſenſible pleaſure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-pariſh or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabbin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to ſteal or beg, for want of work; to whom death would be the beſt thing to be wiſhed for, on account both of themſelves and the public.

Among all taxes impoſed by the legiſlature, thoſe upon luxury are univerſally allowed to be the moſt equitable and beneficial to the ſubject; and the commoneſt reaſoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the ſubject. Yet here again, by the ſingular fate of *Ireland*, this maxim is utterly falſe; and the putting it in practice may have ſuch pernicious a conſequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the propoſers were not able to reach.

The miſeries we ſuffer by our abſentees are of a far more extenſive nature than ſeems to be commonly underſtood. I muſt vindicate myſelf to the reader ſo far as to declare ſolemnly, that what I ſhall ſay of thoſe lords and ſquires, doth not ariſe from the leaſt regard I have for their underſtandings, their virtues, or their perſons. For, although I have not the honour of the leaſt acquaintance with any one among them, (my ambition not ſoaring ſo high) yet I am too good a witneſs of the ſituation they have been in for thirty years paſt, the

the veneration paid them by the people, the high eſteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and diſtinction they receive from the court: The weight and conſequence of their intereſt, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardſhips their country might ſuffer from *England*, wiſely conſidering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the ſame bottom.

SENT

SENT TO

DOCTOR *SWIFT*,

BY

A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xvi. ver. 45.

" AND the people ſaid unto *Saul*, Shall *Jonathan* " die, who hath wrought this great ſalvation in " *Iſrael*? God forbid: As the LORD liveth, there " ſhall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; " for he wrought with GOD this day. So the people " reſcued *Jonathan*, that he died not."

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON,

On the Occaſion of WOOD's PROJECT.

Written in the Year M, DCC, XXIV.

GALATIANS, vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to conſult our own private good before the private good of any other perſon whatſoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourſelves, but not as well as ourſelves. The love we have for ourſelves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, ſo my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myſelf, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myſelf firſt, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in perſuading you to; for the want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred. For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone, without ruining myſelf, or recovering his reputation without blaſting mine;

mine; all this I am obliged to do: And, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves; and this is uſually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more ſtrictly obliged than even that of loving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves are alſo contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of *Virtue*, becauſe it was the greateſt of all virtues, and was ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it: And many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, ſcarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in ſuch a baſe, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In thoſe times it was common for men to ſacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope or belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own ſouls, for a little preſent gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly muſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of ſome petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themſelves muſt at laſt be involved? Are not theſe corruptions gotten among the meaneſt of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the diſpoſal of their own lives and fortunes, without conſidering whether it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one inſtance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall attempt it.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood: B

love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our King, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common ſenſe of the word, without one grain of public good at his heart. Witneſs this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, ſince the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuch high conſtant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour as we have done: And, at the ſame time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I ſay the people, I mean the bulk or maſs of the people, for I have nothing to do with thoſe in power.

Therefore I ſhall think my time not ill ſpent, if I can perſuade moſt or all of you who hear me, to ſhew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your ſeveral ſtations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly perſuaded, that all our misfortunes ariſe from no other original cauſe than that general diſregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to ſhew you three things.

Firſt, That there are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public.

And *laſtly*, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, There are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wiſe man who ſaved a city by his counſel. It hath often happened, that a private ſoldier, by ſome unexpected brave attempt, hath been inſtrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obſcure men have been authors of very uſeful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honeſty and induſtry in a poor tradeſman will ſometimes ſpread through a neighbourhood, when others ſee how ſucceſsful he is; and thus ſo many uſeful members are gained, for which the whole bo-

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dy of the public is the better. Whoever is bleſſed with a true public ſpirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make uſe of that bleſſing, for the ends it was given him, by ſome means or other: And therefore it hath been obſerved in moſt ages, that the greateſt actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wiſdom or courage, the contrivance or induſtry of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the ſafety of a kingdom hath often been owing to thoſe hands from whence it was leaſt expected

But, *Secondly*, it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public: And hence ariſe moſt of thoſe miſeries with which the ſtates and kingdoms of the earth are infeſted. How many great princes have been murdered by the meaneſt ruffians? The weakeſt hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thouſand of the ſtrongeſt cannot ſtop Thoſe who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exerciſe that power whenever they can. The greateſt blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the diſhoneſty of a few manufacturers; who, by impoſing bad ware at foreign markets, in almoſt the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now ſuffers in the midſt of ſufferings. I ſpeak not here of perſons in high ſtations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are ſuppoſed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meaneſt inſtrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction, and is at this preſent endeavouring to finiſh his work; and hath agents among ourſelves, who are contented to ſee their own country undone, to be ſmall ſharers in that iniquitous gain, which at laſt muſt end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confeſs, it was chiefly the conſideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to diſcourſe to you on this ſubject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your

Prince and your fellow ſubjects before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from the pulpit. But ſurely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-houſe, to deprive us of all means to exerciſe hoſpitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a deſart for wild beaſts and robbers, to deſtroy all arts and ſciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obſcure ill deſigning projector, and his followers; it is time for the paſtor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to ſtand together, and all to conſult the common ſafety. And God be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs in raiſing ſuch a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point, in the midſt of all our former diviſions; which union, if it continue, will in all probability, defeat the pernicious deſign of this peſtilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how neceſſary the love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is in every particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many opportunities of doing public miſchief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs is equally ſhared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the ſhop-keeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great meaſure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meaneſt wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public, is falſe accuſation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long ſince no man, whoſe opinions were thought to differ from thoſe in faſhion, could ſafely converſe beyond his neareſt friends, for

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fear of being ſworn againſt, as a traitor, by thoſe who made a traffic of perjury and ſubornation; by which the very peace of the nation was diſturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got looſe. And, it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of theſe falſe accuſers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and ſubornation, to take away the lives of ſeveral innocent perſons here among us; and, indeed, there could not be a more proper inſtrument for ſuch a work.

Another method by which the meaneſt people may do injury to the public, is the ſpreading of lies and falſe rumours, thus raiſing a diſtruſt among the people of a nation, cauſing them to miſtake their true intereſt, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewiſe too ſucceſsful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom miſled by the groſſeſt lies, raiſed upon occaſion to ſerve ſome particular turn. As it hath alſo happened in the caſe I lately mentioned, where one obſcure man, by repreſenting our wants where they were leaſt, and concealing them where they were greateſt, had almoſt ſucceeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may ſtill ſucceed, if God doth not continue that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.

Thus we ſee the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts, and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger, in a great ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation,

which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble, whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the *Israelites*, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the *Philistines* treated *Samson*; (I mean when he was betrayed by *Dalilah*) first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence.

Thus he promised *Abraham* to save *Sodom*, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to *Jonas* for not destroying *Nineveh* was, because there were six-score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particu-

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far perſons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders againſt their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is next to impoſſible to obtain a pardon, or make reſtitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at reſenting injuries, and very ſlow in forgiving them: And how ſhall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How ſhall thoſe, who, by a moſt deſtructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they ſhould no farther ſucceed? The deplorable caſe of ſuch wretches, muſt entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: For thoſe who know the leaſt in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmoſt endeavours to make reſtitution to the perſon injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a ſincere repentance, there is no hope of ſalvation given in the Goſpel.

Laſtly, All offences againſt our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe thoſe laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nouriſh us, ſo that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious King, as well as to ourſelves. *Let us* therefore preſerve that public ſpirit, which

which God hath raiſed in us for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought; the merchant, the ſhop-keeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the deſart with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve or live upon rapine, or at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you, who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country on this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious Majeſty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſubornors, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our King, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake: To whom, *&c.*

A PRO-

A

PROPOSAL

THAT

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND ſhould appear conſtantly in *Iriſh* Manufactures.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

THERE was a treatiſe written about nine years ago, to perſuade the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures *. This treatiſe was allowed to have not one ſyllable in it of party or diſaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occaſioned by the utter want of trade in every branch, except that ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatiſe was preſented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of *Dublin*, as a ſcandalous, ſeditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city Grand-jury, but the foreman for the county was one Dr *Seal*, regiſter to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, wherein he differed much from the ſentiments of his Lord. The Printer was tried before the late Mr *Whitchet*, that famous Lord Chief-Juſtice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared upon his ſalvation that the author was a Jacobite, and had a deſign to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midſt of this proſecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which juſt ſerved to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or ſtroling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of *Grafton*, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly aſhamed of ſo infamous and unpopular a proceeding

* See Vol. III.

proceeding, obtained from *England* a *noli prosequi* for the Printer. Yet the Grand-jury had solemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to shew how dangerous it hath been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more; wholly omitting the famous case of the Drapier, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr *Whitchet*, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago there was a small paper printed, which was called *A short View of the State of Ireland**, relating the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to *Ireland*. *Whitchet* was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. *Mist*, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in *London*, for which his press-folks were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet discharged.

This is our case; insomuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected.

But since I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper shall not be discovered, (following herein the most prudent practice of the Drapier) I will venture to affirm, that the three seasons wherein our corn hath miscarried, did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the present plentiful harvest, although it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us, than it would the rat aforesaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this: The distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

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* See Vol. III.

If you demand from whence theſe diſtreſſes have ariſen, I deſire to aſk the following queſtion.

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the ſaid kingdom be forbidden the moſt profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing thoſe commodities which are moſt ruinous to itſelf, how ſhall that kingdom ſtand?

If this queſtion were formed into the firſt propoſition of an hypothetical ſyllogiſm, I defy the man born in *Ireland*, who is now in the faireſt way of getting a collectorſhip, or a cornet's poſt, to give a good reaſon for denying it.

Let me put another caſe. Suppoſe a gentleman's eſtate of 200*l.* a year ſhould ſink to one hundred, by ſome accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and ſuppoſe the ſaid gentleman utterly hopeleſs and unqualified ever to retrieve the loſs; how is he otherwiſe to proceed in his future œconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half leſs, unleſs he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a repreſentation of *Ireland*'s condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propoſe a full remedy for this, that ſhall ever be granted, but only a ſmall prolongation of life, until God ſhall miraculouſly diſpoſe the hearts of our neighbours, our kinſmen, our fellow Proteſtants, fellow ſubjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to ſtarve, without running further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that faſhionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000*l.*; which is, at leaſt, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our abſentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000*l.* more than all the caſh.

It ſeems there are ſeveral ſchemes for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of this formidable ſum, (not the principal, for this is allowed impoſſible.) The neceſſity of raiſing ſuch a fund is ſtrongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and cuſtoms. And is it the fault of *Ireland* that theſe funds are deficient

cient? If they depend on trade, can it poſſibly be otherwiſe, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor buſineſs to employ them, if we had? Our diſeaſes are viſible enough, both in their cauſes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impoſſible to be applied.

If my ſteward comes and tells me, that my rents are ſunk ſo low that they are very little more than ſufficient to pay my ſervants their wages, have I any other courſe left, than to caſhier four in ſix of my raſcally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whoſe inſolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I ſhould think it extremely ſevere in any law, to force me to maintain a houſehold of fifty ſervants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legiſlators.

To return from digreſſing: I am told one ſcheme for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of our national debt, is by a further duty of forty ſhillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further by raiſing it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of *England*.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in diſcourſe, that there is no topic ſo fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in *Ireland* from the example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or any other country, whoſe inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of human kind. I could undertake to name ſix or ſeven of the moſt uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly falſe in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any perſon may deliver his opinion upon it, until it ſhall have paſſed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be poſitively againſt it.

Firſt, Becauſe there is no nation yet known, in either hemiſphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of ſome cordial to keep up their ſpirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jeſt; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I ſhall not argue it.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty ſhillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at leaſt to the home-conſumer) will increaſe equally every new ſeſſion of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like inſtances in *England*, this additional tax will more probably leſſen this branch of the revenue, than increaſe it. And therefore Sir *John Stanley*, a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, in *England*, uſed to ſay, That the Houſe of Commons were generally miſtaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you ſhould lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raiſins or ſugar, the revenue, inſtead of riſing, would certainly ſink: and the conſequence would only be, to leſſen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewiſe aſſured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty ſhillings, the *French* will at leaſt equally raiſe their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon the balance by our trade with *France* for ſeveral years paſt; and, although our gain amounts to no great ſum, we ought to be ſatisfied, ſince we are no loſers, with the only conſolation we are capable of receiving.

Laſtly, The worſt conſequence is behind. If we raiſe the duty on wine to a conſiderable height, we loſe the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable eſtates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to conſider whether he ſhould live here or in *England*, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of *England*, as in ſome very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in œconomy, which paſſes there without reproach, (and chiefly in *London* itſelf) would amply make up the difference.

But

But the article of *French* wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: And this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the ſcale with thoſe few landed men diſengaged from employments, who content themſelves to live hoſpitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obſcurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, aboliſhed this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the leaſt concern about paying the intereſt of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wiſdom of the Honourable Houſe of Commons: I come now to conſider by what methods we may be able to put off, and delay our utter undoing as long as it is poſſible.

I never have diſcourſed any reaſonable man upon this ſubject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to leſſen the importation of all unneceſſary commodities, as much as it was poſſible; and likewiſe, either to perſuade our abſentees to ſpend their money at home, which is impoſſible, or tax them at five ſhillings in the pound during their abſence, with ſuch allowances, upon neceſſary occaſions, as it ſhall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three laſt methods are treated by Mr *Prior*, in his moſt uſeful treatiſe, added to his liſt of abſentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this inſupportable grievance of bringing in the inſtruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thouſand pounds worth of ſilk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thouſand pounds more is expended in muſlin, holland, cambric, and callicoe. What the price of lace amounts to, is not eaſy to be collected from the cuſtom-houſe-book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is eaſily run; but, conſidering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dreſs, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, muſt be very great. The tea, rated at ſeven ſhillings *per* pound, comes

comes to near twelve thouſand pounds; but, conſidering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, ſempſtreſs, and tradeſman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, muſt needs coſt the kingdom double that ſum. Coffee is ſomewhat above 7,000 *l.* I have ſeen no account of chocolate, and ſome other *Indian* or *American* goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000 *l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000 *l.* The laviſhing of all which money is juſt as prudent and neceſſary, as to ſee a man in an embroidered coat begging out of *Newgate* in an old ſhoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw ſilk is leſs pernicious; becauſe we have ſome ſhare in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumſtances to triflle. It coſts us above 40,000 *l.* a year: And if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country ſhifts, I wiſh they may go in rags. Let them vye with each other in the fineneſs of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleneſs will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is ſo weak, as to hope or expect that ſuch a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough, hearty, unanimous vote, in both Houſes of Parliament, might perhaps anſwer as well: Every ſenator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himſelf, nor any of his family, would, in their dreſs or furniture of their houſes, make uſe of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would uſe the utmoſt of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents, and friends, to follow their example.

THE

SUBSTANCE

OF

What was ſaid by the DEAN of ST PATRICK's to the LORD MAYOR and ſome of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordſhip came to preſent the ſaid DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

WHEN his Lordſhip had ſaid a few words, and preſented the inſtrument, the Dean gently put it back, and deſired firſt to be heard. He ſaid, He was much obliged to his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: That it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his Lordſhip or the city: And that the mortification was the leſs, becauſe he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a miſtake; for which opinion he would tell his reaſon. He ſaid, It was well known, that, ſome time ago, a perſon with a title was pleaſed, in two great aſſemblies, to rattle bitterly ſome body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a *Tory*, a *Jacobite*, an enemy to King *George*, and a libeller of the government; which character, the Dean ſaid that many people thought, was applied to him: But he was unwilling to be of that opinion, becauſe the perſon who had delivered thoſe abuſive words had, for ſeveral years, careſſed and courted, and ſollicited his friendſhip more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting *him to* his houſe in town and country, by coming to *the Deanry often*, and calling or ſending almoſt every

day

day when the Dean was ſick, with many other particulars of the ſame nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the ſaid perſon made thoſe invectives in the Council and Houſe of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think thoſe ſcurrilous words could be intended againſt him; becauſe ſuch a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, juſtice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the ſaid perſon had ſome other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncharitable cuſtom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would inſiſt on this argument no longer: But one thing he would affirm and declare, without aſſigning any name or making any exception, That, whoever either did or does, or ſhall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King *George*, or a libeller of the government, the ſaid accuſation was, is, and will be falſe, malicious, ſlanderous, and altogether groundleſs. And, he would take the freedom to tell his Lordſhip and the reſt that ſtood by, that he had done more ſervice to the *Hanover*-title, and more diſſervice to the Pretender's cauſe, than forty thouſand of thoſe noiſy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of uſe to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and ſpitting their venom, againſt all who differ from them in their deſtructive principles both in church and ſtate. That he confeſſed it was ſometimes his misfortune to diſlike ſome things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wiſe and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his Prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he proteſted that ſuch diſlikes never aroſe in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the King, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and miniſters long enough, and knew too well that the beſt miniſters might miſtake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at leaſt full as honeſt as any can be

at preſent. The Dean further ſaid, That, ſince he had been ſo falſely repreſented, he thought it became him to give ſome account of himſelf for above twenty years, if it were only to juſtify his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him. He related briefly how, merely by his own perſonal credit, without other aſſiſtance, and in two journeys at his own expence, he had procured a grant of the firſt fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time; for which he thought he deſerved ſome gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the adminiſtration of the ſaid miniſtry, he had been a conſtant advocate for thoſe who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in *England* and here, and ſome who were afterwards the firſt to lift up their heels againſt him. He reflected a little upon the ſevere treatment he had met with upon his return to *Ireland* after her Majeſty's death, and for ſome years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public ſervice, than by employing all the little money he could ſave, and lending it, without intereſt, in ſmall ſums to poor induſtrious tradeſmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had ſo far pleaſed to bleſs his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed moſt of them in a comfortable way of life. The Dean related how much he had ſuffered in his purſe, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a moſt iniquitous judge*; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worſe a deſign, than to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the ſaid judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind, but they proved ſo honeſt, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and ſend them back nine times, until, at laſt, they were compelled to leave the printer† to the mercy of the court. And the Dean was forced to procure a *noli proſequi* from a Noble Perſon, then ſecretary of ſtate, who had been his old friend. The Dean then freely confeſſed himſelf

* See the Note Vol. III. p. 80. † Harding.

ſelf to be author of thoſe books called the *Drapier's Letters*, ſpoke gently of the proclamation offering 300 *l.* to diſcover the writer. He ſaid, That although a certain perſon was pleaſed to mention thoſe books in a ſlight manner at a public aſſembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thouſand to one in the kingdom who differed from that perſon; and the people of *England*, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in *France*, were all of the ſame opinion. The Dean mentioned ſeveral other particulars, ſome of which, thoſe from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great conſequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expreſſed his wiſhes, that an inſcription might have been graven on the box, ſhewing ſome reaſon why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a perſon in a private ſtation; thoſe diſtinctions being uſually made only to chief governors, or perſons in very high employments.

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reaſon; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act ſometimes by other mens reaſon, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reaſon fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reaſon.

To ſay a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor ſenſe.

You may force men, by intereſt or puniſhment, to ſay or ſwear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the poſſeſſion of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or diſturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein ſome nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time particular men ſhould be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impoſſible, and the attempt wicked, whether thoſe opinions be true or falſe; unleſs your avowed deſign be to aboliſh that religion altogether. So, for inſtance, in the famous doctrine of Chriſt's divinity, which hath been univerſally received by all bodies of Chriſtians, ſince the

the condemnation of *Arianism* under *Constantine* and his successors: Wherefore the proceedings of the *Socinians* are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world. *Qui ratione sua disturbant mentis mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times was proposed to the *Jews* and *Heathens* without the article of Christ's divinity; which, I remember, *Erasmus* accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now softened by the *Chinese* missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult: And we find by the *Alcoran*, it is the great stumbling-block of the *Mahometans*. But, in a country aleady Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find by *Paul's* allegories, and other figures of *Grecian* eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by Providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motion is my submitting to the pleasure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less reason or good policy.

I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

Those fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and shew us better examples.

Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God?* I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate: But how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed, where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances in a state; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as *France*, *Sweden*, and other countries, are flaming instances. *Cromwell*'s notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the surrender of a town in *Ireland*, the Popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of conscience, *Cromwell* said, he meddled with no man's conscience; but, if by liberty of conscience, the governor meant the liberty of the Mass, he had express orders from the parliament of *England* against admitting any such liberty at all.

It is impossible that any thing so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death, should ever have been designed by Providence as an evil to mankind.

Although

Although reaſon were intended by Providence to govern our paſſions, yet it ſeems that, in two points of the greateſt moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our paſſions to prevail over reaſon. The firſt is, the propagation of our ſpecies, ſince no wiſe man ever married from the dictates of reaſon. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reaſon, every man would deſpiſe, and wiſh it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER

FURTHER

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

THE Scripture-ſyſtem of man's creation is what Chriſtians are bound to believe, and ſeems moſt agreeable of all others to probability and reaſon. *Adam* was formed from a piece of clay, and *Eve* from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beaſts of the field and birds of the air. As to *Eve*, it doth not appear that her huſband was her monarch, only ſhe was to be his help meet, and placed in ſome degree of ſubjection. However, before his fall, the beaſts were his moſt obedient ſubjects, whom he governed by abſolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the courſe of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; ſome were able to eſcape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in *Adam* over his poſterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the firſt was *Nimrod*, the mighty hunter, who, as *Milton* expreſſeth it, made men, and not beaſts, his prey. For men were eaſier caught by promiſes, and ſubdued by the folly or treachery of their own ſpecies. Whereas, the brutes prevailed only by their courage or ſtrength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and ſome other animals are ſtrong or valiant, and their ſpecies never degenerates in their native ſoil, except they happen to be enſlaved or deſtroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverſeneſs, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A PRAYER

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PRAYER

FOR

STELLA.

ALMIGHTY and moſt gracious Lord God, extend, we beſeech thee, thy pity and compaſſion towards this thy languiſhing ſervant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true ſenſe of the emptineſs and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly ſenſible of all the infirmities of her life paſt, and grant to her ſuch a true ſincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preſerve her, O Lord, in a ſound mind and underſtanding, during this thy viſitation; keep her from both the ſad extremes of preſumption and deſpair. If thou ſhalt pleaſe to reſtore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep thoſe good reſolutions ſhe now makes in her ſickneſs, ſo that no length of time, nor proſperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes diſtract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery, or diſturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beſeech thee alſo, O Lord, of thy infinite goodneſs to remember the good actions of this thy ſervant; that the naked ſhe hath clothed, the hungry ſhe hath fed, the ſick and the fatherleſs whom ſhe hath relieved, may be reckoned, according to thy gracious promiſe, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy ſervant in her behalf, and eſpecially thoſe now made by us unto thee.

Give

Give thy bleſſing to thoſe endeavours uſed for her recovery; but take from her all violent deſire, either of life or death, further than with reſignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the ſenſe of this thy ſervant's weakneſs may add ſtrength to our faith, that we, conſidering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it ſhall pleaſe thee to viſit us in the like manner. Accept theſe prayers, we beſeech thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. Amen.

A SER-

A

SERMON.

1. Cor. iii. 19.

The wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flouriſhed to a very great degree, inſomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even ſuch who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praiſe and opinion of the wiſdom and virtue of the *Gentile* ſages of thoſe days, and likewiſe of thoſe antient philoſophers who went before them, whoſe doctrines are left upon record either by themſelves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be ſaid, that the Providence of God brought this about for ſeveral very wiſe ends and purpoſes. For, it is certain that theſe philoſophers had been a long time before ſearching out where to fix the true happineſs of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not poſſibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their inquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitleſs; the conſequence of which muſt be not only an acknowledgment of the weakneſs of all human wiſdom, but likewiſe an open paſſage hereby made, for the letting in thoſe beams of light, which the glorious ſunſhine of the goſpel then brought into the world, by revealing thoſe hidden truths, which they had ſo long before been labouring to diſcover, and fixing the general happineſs of mankind beyond all controverſy and diſpute. And therefore the Providence of God wiſely ſuffered men of deep genius and learning then to ariſe, who ſhould ſearch into the truth of the goſpel now made

known, and canvaſs its doctrines with all the ſubtilty and knowledge they were maſters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wiſdom only which cometh from above. *James* iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further inquiry into the truth of this obſervation, I doubt not but there is reaſon to think that a great many of thoſe encomiums given to antient philoſophers are taken upon truſt, and by a ſort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an inquiry that would employ ſo much time and thinking. For the uſual ends why men affect this kind of diſcourſe, appear generally to be either out of oſtentation, that they may paſs upon the world for perſons of great knowledge and obſervation; or, what is worſe, there are ſome who highly exalt the wiſdom of thoſe *Gentile* ſages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more eſpecially that of the goſpel; for the conſequence they would have us draw, is this: That, ſince thoſe antient philoſophers roſe to a greater pitch of wiſdom and virtue than was ever known among Chriſtians, and all this purely upon the ſtrength of their own reaſon and liberty of thinking; therefore it muſt follow, that either all Revelation is falſe, or, what is worſe, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worſe than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wiſdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low eſteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, who followed the doctrines of *Plato* and *Epicurus*. *St. Paul* likewiſe, who was well verſed in all the *Grecian* literature, ſeems very much to deſpiſe their philoſophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the *Coloſſians* to beware leſt any man ſpoil them through philoſophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he adviſes *Timothy* to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience, falſly ſo called; that is, not to introduce into the Chriſtian doctrine the janglings of thoſe vain philoſophers, which they would paſs upon the world for ſcience. And the reaſons he gives are, *Firſt*, That thoſe who profeſſed them did err concerning the faith: *Secondly*, Becauſe the knowledge of them

them did increaſe ungodlineſs, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty ſounds; that is, tedious diſputes about words, which the philoſophers were always ſo full of, and which were the natural product of diſputes and diſſenſions between ſeveral ſects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the *Heathen* philoſophy, as it is manifeſt from ſeveral paſſages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raiſe the reputation of thoſe ſages ſo high, is a mode and a vice but of yeſterday, aſſumed chiefly, as I have ſaid, to diſparage revealed knowledge, and the conſequences of it among us.

Now, becauſe this is a prejudice which may prevail with ſome perſons, ſo far as to leſſen the influence of the goſpel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themſelves into the world; I ſhall endeavour to ſhew that their preference of *Heathen* wiſdom and virtue, before that of the Chriſtian, is every way unjuſt, and grounded upon ignorance or miſtake: In order to which I ſhall conſider four things.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general, fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I ſhall ſhew, in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thirdly, I ſhall prove the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Laſtly, I ſhall ſhew that the great examples of wiſdom and virtue among the *Heathen* wiſe men, were produced by perſonal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

My deſign is to perſuade men, that Chriſtian philoſophy is in all things preferable to *Heathen* wiſdom; from which, or its profeſſors, I ſhall however have no

occaſion to detract. They were as wiſe and as good as it was poſſible for them under ſuch diſadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with ſuch aids as we enjoy: But our leſſons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall ſhort.

The *firſt* point I ſhall mention was that univerſal defect which was in all their ſchemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happineſs of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable anſwer upon this difficulty, to ſatisfy a reaſonable perſon. For, to ſay, as the moſt plauſible of them did, that happineſs conſiſted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere ſound of words, to amuſe others and themſelves; becauſe they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did conſiſt; and likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral among the beſt of them taught quite different things, placing happineſs in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when I ſpeak of their particular tenets.

The *ſecond* great defect in the *Gentile* philoſophy was, that it wanted ſome ſuitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progreſs in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the ſcore of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: Bodily goods, being only ſuitable to bodily wants, are no reſt at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wiſdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is ſo conſtituted, that we can never purſue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize; and the greater the prize the faſter we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we underſtand it and believe it to be ſuch, more than a corruptible one. But ſome of the philoſophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine ſo far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itſelf: Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the ſound of the words, it is at leaſt too abſtracted *to become* an univerſal influencing principle in the *world, and* therefore could not be of general uſe.

It

It was the want of aſſigning ſome happineſs, proportioned to the ſoul of man, that cauſed many of them, either, on the one hand, to be ſoure and moroſe, ſupercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar purſuits of common men, to hunt after greatneſs and riches, to make their court, and to ſerve occaſions; as *Plato* did to the younger *Dionyſius*, and *Ariſtotle* to *Alexander the Great*. So impoſſible is it for a man, who looks no further than the preſent world, to fix himſelf him long in a contemplation where the preſent world has no part: He has no ſure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he reſts upon, while he has no ſupport beſide for his feet, but wants, like *Archimedes*, ſome other place whereon to ſtand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any ſort of preſent or future hope, cannot be purely greatneſs of ſpirit; there muſt be a mixture in it of affectation, and an alloy of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and puniſhments in another life; but it ſeems to have rather ſerved as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a ſettled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The laſt celebrated words of *Socrates*, a little before his death, do not ſeem to reckon or build much upon any ſuch opinion; and *Cæſar* made no ſcruple to diſown it, and ridicule it in open ſenate.

Thirdly, The greateſt and wiſeſt of all their philoſophers were never able to give any ſatisfaction, to others and themſelves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely groſs and abſurd in their conceptions; and thoſe who made the faireſt conjectures are ſuch as were generally allowed by the learned to have ſeen the ſyſtem of *Moſes*, if I may ſo call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the *Heathen* world, as we find by *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Longinus*, and other authors; for the reſt, the wiſeſt among them laid aſide all notions after a Deity, as a diſquiſition vain and fruitleſs, which indeed it was upon unrevealed principles; and thoſe who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confuſion.

Fourthly, Thoſe among them who had the juſteſt conceptions of a Divine Power, and did alſo admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they truſted in themſelves for all things: But, as for a truſt or dependence upon God, they would not have underſtood the phraſe; it made no part of the profane ſtyle.

Therefore it was, that, in all iſſues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own ſentiments of reaſon and juſtice, they were quite diſconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverſe fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew ſullen and ſevere, or elſe yielded and ſunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy fell ſhort, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the ſecond place, to ſhew in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the *Ionic* ſect, ſo celebrated for morality, being aſked, How a man might bear ill-fortune with greateſt eaſe? anſwered, "By ſeeing his "enemies in a worſe condition." An anſwer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included ſuch conſequences as muſt deſtroy all ſociety from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a ſon, one told him, "You lament in vain:" "Therefore (ſaid he) I la-"ment, becauſe it is in vain." This was a plain confeſſion how imperfect all his philoſophy was, and that ſomething was ſtill wanting. He owned that all his wiſdom and morals were uſeleſs, and this upon one of the moſt frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to ſupport himſelf even from *David*, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath inſtructed his diſciples? *Plato* himſelf, with all his refinements, placed happineſs in wiſdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed *all theſe* were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wiſe and

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the good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miſerable without reſource.

His ſcholar, *Ariſtotle*, fell more groſsly into the ſame notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not ſufficient for happineſs, but that a wiſe man muſt be miſerable in poverty and ſickneſs. Nay, *Diogenes* himſelf, from whoſe pride and ſingularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the moſt miſerable thing in life.

Zeno alſo and his followers fell into many abſurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, inſtead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Laſtly, *Epicurus* had no notion of juſtice but as it was profitable; and his placing happineſs in pleaſure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleaſure did conſiſt in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or aſcertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he miſled his followers into the greateſt vices, making their names to become odious and ſcandalous, even in the *Heathen* world.

I have produced theſe few inſtances from a great many others, to ſhew the imperfection of *Heathen* philoſophy, wherein I have confined myſelf wholly to their morality. And ſurely we may pronounce upon it in the words of *St. James*, that *This wiſdom deſcended not from above, but was earthly and ſenſual.* What if I had produced their abſurd notions about God and the ſoul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apoſtle, and appeared to have been deviliſh too. But it is eaſy to obſerve, from the nature of theſe few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a ſupport by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the *third* place, to ſhew the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom from above, and I ſhall endeavour to make it appear from thoſe proper characters and marks of it by the Apoſtle before mentioned, in

in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verſes.

The words run thus:

This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh.

For where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion, and every evil work.

But the wiſdom that is from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy.

The wiſdom from above is firſt pure. This purity of the mind and ſpirit is peculiar to the goſpel. Our Saviour ſays, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God.* A mind free from all pollution of luſts ſhall have a daily viſion of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unſpotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holineſs, and righteouſneſs, far beyond the examples of the moſt celebrated philoſophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated.* The Chriſtian doctrine teacheth us all thoſe diſpoſitions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any moroſe leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the compoſition of moſt *Heathen* ſchemes: So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's laſt legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto ſeventy times ſeven.

Chriſtian wiſdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the *Heathens* fall infinitely ſhort. *Plato* indeed (and it is worth obſerving) has ſomewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the higheſt ſtrain ever reached by man, without divine aſſiſtance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us; to bleſs them that curſe us; and do good to them that deſpitefully uſe us.*

Chriſtian wiſdom is *without partiality*; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: Not to the philoſophical ſchemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their *peculiar towns, governments*, or ſects; but, in every nation,

tion, he that fearest God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is a [illegible]. It appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike several branches of the *Heathen* wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the Grecian sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by antient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were *Socrates* and *Cato*. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For *Socrates* himself was of none at all; and although *Cato* was called a Stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, as the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Christians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the *Apostles*, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of

witnesses

witneſſes beyond exception. Having therefore ſpoken ſo largely upon the former heads, I ſhall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it ſhould here be objected, Why does not Chriſtianity ſtill produce the ſame effects? It is eaſy to anſwer, *Firſt*, That although the number of pretended Chriſtians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never ſo ſmall; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, We may anſwer, that Chriſtianity itſelf has very much ſuffered by being blended up with *Gentile* philoſophy. The *Platonic* ſyſtem, firſt taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for ſome early hereſies in the church. When diſputes began to ariſe, the *Peripatetic* forms were introduced by *Scotus*, as beſt fitted for controverſy. And, however this may now have become neceſſary, it was ſurely the author of a litigious vein, which has ſince occaſioned very pernicious conſequences, ſtopt the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that ſentence given by *St. James*, and mentioned before, *Where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion, and every evil work.* This was the fatal ſtop to the *Grecians*, in their progreſs both of arts and arms: Their wiſe men were divided under ſeveral ſects, and their governments under ſeveral commonwealths, all in oppoſition to each other, which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themſelves, while they ſhould have been armed againſt the common enemy. And I wiſh we had no other examples from the like cauſes, leſs foreign or antient than that. *Diogenes* ſaid, *Socrates* was a madman; the diſciples of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, nay of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, were engaged in fierce diſputes about the moſt inſignificant trifles. And, if this be the preſent language and practice among us Chriſtians, no wonder that Chriſtianity does not ſtill produce the ſame effects which it did at firſt, when it was received and embraced in its utmoſt purity and perfection. For ſuch a wiſdom as this cannot *deſcend from above*, but muſt be *earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh; full of confuſion and every evil work*: Whereas

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the wiſdom from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy. This is the true heavenly wiſdom, which Chriſtianity only can boaſt of, and which the greateſt of the *Heathen* wiſe men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, *&c. &c.*

UPON

UPON GIVING

BADGES

TO

THE POOR*.

THE continual concourſe of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impoſſible for the ſeveral pariſhes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; ſeveral Lord Mayors did apply themſelves to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, that his Grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the ſaid city, to appoint badges of braſs, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, *&c.* and to be well ſewed and faſtened on the right and left ſhoulder of the outward garment of each of the ſaid poor, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed. And that none of the ſaid poor ſhould go out of their own pariſh to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His Grace, the Lord Archbiſhop, did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverſeneſs, or pride of the ſaid poor, ſeveral of them openly proteſting they will never ſubmit to wear the ſaid badges; and of thoſe who received them, almoſt every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a ſtring about their necks, or faſten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be ſeen. By which means the whole deſign is eluded, ſo that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without ſeeing one beggar regularly badged, and in ſuch great numbers, that they are a mighty nuſance to the public, moſt of them being foreigners.

It

* See a Treatiſe on the ſubject, Vol. III. p. 335.

It is therefore propoſed, That his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop would pleaſe to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put this affair of badges effectually in practice, by ſuch methods as his Grace and they ſhall agree upon. And I think it would be highly neceſſary, that ſome paper ſhould be paſted up, in ſeveral proper parts of the city, ſignifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to thoſe poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own pariſhes. And, if ſomething like this were delivered by the miniſters, in the reading-deſk, two or three Lords-days ſucceſſively, it would ſtill be of further uſe to put this matter upon a right foot And that all who offend againſt this regulation be treated as vagabonds and ſturdy beggars.

Deanry-houſe,
Sept. 26. 1726.

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT

MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amuſed, for at leaſt thirty years paſt, with numberleſs ſchemes in writing and diſcourſe, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and ſetting them to work, eſpecially in this city; moſt of which were idle, indigeſted, or viſionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the conſequences. Many of thoſe projectors were ſo ſtupid, that they drew a parallel from *Holland* and *England*, to be ſettled in *Ireland*; that is to ſay, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the moſt beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of falſe and fooliſh reaſoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, ſeems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much converſed with thoſe folks who call themſelves Merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very firſt rudiments of trade; which, however, was not ſo much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy conſtitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wiſeſt merchants. I could fill a volume with only ſetting down a liſt of the public abſurdities, by which this kingdom hath ſuffered within the compaſs of my own memory, ſuch as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not eſtabliſhed as a law. I cannot forbear inſtancing a few of theſe, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe to thoſe who ſhall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

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The firſt was the building of the barracks, whereof I have ſeen above one half, and have heard enough of the reſt, to affirm that the public hath been cheated of at leaſt two thirds of the money raiſed for that uſe by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raiſed for the *Palatines*; when, inſtead of employing that great ſum in purchaſing lands in ſome remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting thoſe people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the inſurance-office againſt fire, by which ſeveral thouſand pounds are yearly remitted to *England* (a trifle it ſeems we can eaſily ſpare), and will gradually increaſe until it comes to a good national tax. For the ſociety-marks upon our houſes (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) ſpread faſter and farther than the * colony of frogs. I have, for above twenty years paſt, given warning ſeveral thouſand times, to many ſubſtantial people, and to ſuch who are acquainted with Lords and Squires, and the like great folks, (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known:) I mentioned my daily fears, leſt our watchful friends in *England* might take this buſineſs out of our hands; and how eaſy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a ſociety of perſons who had good eſtates, ſuch, for inſtance, as that noble knot of bankers under the ſtyle of *Swift and Company*. But now we are become tributary to *England*, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for

* This ſimilitude which is certainly the fineſt that could poſſibly have been uſed upon this occaſion, ſeems to require a ſhort explication. About the beginning of this current century, Doctor *Gwythers*, a phyſician and Fellow of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to propagate the ſpecies in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the Univerſity-park; but they all periſhed. Whereupon he ſent to *England* for ſome bottles of the frog-ſpawn, which he threw into thoſe ditches, by which means the ſpecies of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was ſo ſmall in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be ſeen in *Ireland*, except in the neighbourhood of the Univerſity-park: But, within ſix or ſeven years after, they ſpread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and ſo at laſt, by degrees, over the whole nation.

engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in *England* as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of thoſe merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both; when, upon occaſion of the plague at *Marſeilles*, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with *Spain*; but the commodity was ſo bad, and held at ſo high a rate, that almoſt the whole cargo was returned, and the ſmall remainder ſold below the prime coſt.

So many other particulars of the ſame nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to ſtop, and the rather becauſe they are not very proper for my ſubject, to which I ſhall now return.

Among all the ſchemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and ſetting them to work, the leaſt weight hath been laid upon that ſingle point which is of greateſt importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from ſwarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to paſs effectually, all our wiſe reaſonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to ſo ſmall a number of people, is owing to many reaſons: To the lazineſs of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miſerable cabbins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of eſtabliſhment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby ſuch vaſt numbers are hindred from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchaſe it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumſtances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the ſame cauſes we owe the perpetual concourſe of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all aſſiſtance, except money and victuals, to drive from their eſtates thoſe miſerable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint againſt the poor-houſe, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not leſſen by taking three hundred into the

the houſe, and all of them recommended under the miniſter and church-warden's hands of the ſeveral pariſhes; and this complaint muſt ſtill continue, although the poor-houſe ſhould be enlarged to maintain three thouſand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-houſe, as it is now eſtabliſhed, amount to about two thouſand pounds a-year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining ſeventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will ſupport four hundred and twenty-five perſons. This is a favourable allowance, conſidering that I ſubtract nothing for the diet of thoſe officers, and for wear and tare of furniture; and, if every one of theſe collegiates ſhould be ſet to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the ſame time the oratorial part of theſe gentlemen ſeldom vouchſafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thouſand people, to be maintained in this hoſpital, without troubling their heads about the fund, * * * * * * * *

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TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, *&c.*

The humble Repreſentation of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, *Jan.* 1724.

YOUR Grace having been pleaſed to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patent, for the relief of one *Charles M'Carthy*, whoſe houſe in *College-green, Dublin*, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having deſired us to conſider of the ſaid brief, and give our opinions thereof to your Grace;

We the clergy of the city of *Dublin*, in compliance with your Grace's deſire, and with great acknowledgements for your paternal tenderneſs towards us, having maturely conſidered the ſaid brief by letters-patent, compared the ſeveral parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and conſulted perſons ſkilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourſelves and of the reſt of our brethren, the clergy of the dioceſs of *Dublin*, moſt humbly repreſent to your Grace:

Firſt, That, by this brief, your Grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parſons, vicars, *&c.* to advance ſo great an act of charity.

We ſhall not preſume to determine how far your Grace may be commanded by the ſaid brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your dioceſs cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your Grace to advance the ſaid act of charity, any other ways than by reading the ſaid brief in our ſeveral churches, as preſcribed by the rubric.

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſon, vicars, *&c.* upon the firſt Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the ſaid brief, ſhall, deliberately and affectionately, publiſh and declare the tenor thereof to his Majeſty's ſubjects, and earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the ſaid ſufferer:

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or ſome ſolemn days legally appointed; neither is it poſſible for the ſtrongeſt conſtitution among us to obey this command (which includes no leſs than a whole ſermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every houſe where the pariſhes are very populous, conſiſting ſometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houſes, would take up the ſpace of a year, although we ſhould preach in two families every day; and almoſt as much time in the country, where the pariſhes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that theſe exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the diſcretion of the clergy, to chuſe what ſubjects they think moſt proper to preach on, and at what times; and, if they preach either falſe doctrine or ſeditious principles, they are liable to puniſhed.

It may poſſibly happen that the ſufferer recommended may be a perſon not deſerving the favour intended by the brief; in which caſe no miniſter, who knows the ſufferer to be an undeſerving perſon, can with a ſafe conſcience deliberately and affectionately publiſh the brief, much leſs earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of ſuch a ſufferer *.

Thirdly,

† This *M'Carthy*'s houſe was burnt in the month of *Auguſt* 1723, and the univerſal opinion of mankind was, that *M'Carthy* himſelf was the perſon who had ſet fire to the houſe.

Thirdly, Whereas in the ſaid brief the miniſters and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from houſe to houſe, with their church-wardens, to aſk and receive from all perſons the ſaid charity: We cannot but obſerve here, that the ſaid miniſters are directly made collectors of the ſaid charity in conjunction with the church wardens; which however, we preſume, was not intended, as being againſt all law and precedent: And therefore, we apprehend, there may be ſome inconſiſtency which leaves us at a loſs how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the miniſters and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure ſome other of the chief inhabitants, to do the ſame. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work ſeems left entirely to the church-wardens, who are required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to gather and collect the ſaid charity, and to pay the ſame, in ten days after, to the parſon, vicar, *&c.*

In anſwer to this, we do repreſent to your Grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from houſe to houſe to receive the ſaid charity; becauſe your Grace hath informed us in your order, at your viſitation *An. Dom.* 1712, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, ſave in the church; which alſo appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your Grace hath obſerved in your ſaid order.

We do likewiſe aſſure your Grace, that it is not in our power to procure ſome of the chief inhabitants of our pariſhes to accompany the church-wardens from houſe to houſe in theſe collections: And we have reaſon to believe, that ſuch a propoſal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own ſatisfaction, or to the advantage of the ſaid collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the biſhops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions diſtinctly, to be returned

turned in the ſeveral provinces to the ſeveral archbiſhops of the ſame.

Upon which we take leave to obſerve, that the terms of expreſſion here are of the ſtrongeſt kind, and in a point that may ſubject the ſaid dignitaries (for we ſhall ſay nothing of the biſhops) to great inconveniencies.

The ſaid dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions diſtinctly; by which it ſhould ſeem that they are abſolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *diſtinctly* is but a circumſtance), and may be underſtood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any biſhop or dignitary ſhould refuſe to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reaſons) he may be thought to incur the crime of diſobedience to his Majeſty, which all good ſubjects abhor, when ſuch a command is according to law.

Moſt dignities of this kingdom conſiſt only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are miniſters of pariſhes. A doubt may therefore ariſe, whether the ſaid dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, diſtinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parſons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the pooreſt kind of benefices; and it ſhould ſeem hard to put poor dignitaries under the neceſſity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of expoſing themſelves to the cenſure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doeth*; which cannot well conſiſt with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is preſcribed, to publiſh our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſon, vicar, *&c.* of every pariſh, ſhall, in ſix days after the receipt of the ſaid charity, return it to his reſpective chancellor, *&c.* This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the ſaid parſon, in remote and deſolate parts of the country, where often an honeſt meſſenger (if ſuch a one can be got) muſt be hired

to

to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably coſt more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs ſhould happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We obſerve in the ſaid brief, that the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, judges, officers of the courts, and profeſſors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions; but that ſo good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his Majeſty's ſubjects are equally obliged, with or without his Majeſty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their eccleſiaſtical capacity, are only liable to ſuch commands as the rubric, or any other law ſhall enjoin, being born to the ſame privileges of freedom with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

We cannot but obſerve to your Grace, that, in the *Engliſh* act of the fourth year of Queen *Anne*, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters-patent, *&c.* the miniſters are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from houſe to houſe with the church-wardens, nor to ſend the money collected to their reſpective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the ſufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom ſhall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardſhips in this caſe than their brethren in *England*, where the legiſlature, intending to prevent the abuſes in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of thoſe difficulties we now complain of, in the preſent brief by letters-patent, for the relief of *Charles M'Carthy* aforeſaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal ſupport of our own numerous poor in our ſeveral pariſhes; and therefore every ſingle brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, muſt deprive ſeveral thouſands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the ſake only of one perſon, who often becomes a ſufferer by his own folly or negligence, and

is

is ſure to overvalue his loſſes double or treble: So that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the preſent brief ſhould ſucceed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two perſons, whereof not one in ten is deſerving, and for the intereſt of a dozen dextrous clerks and ſecretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to ſtarve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the Lord Primate, in preparing the report of his Grace's opinion, nor thoſe of the great ſeal, in paſſing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a conſiderable ſum: And thus the good intentions of well-diſpoſed people are in a great meaſure diſappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated, and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Laſtly, We cannot but repreſent to your Grace our great concern and grief, to ſee the pains and labour of our church-wardens ſo much increaſed, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great diſadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loſs of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-houſe, which they bear with great unwillingneſs; and, if they ſhall find themſelves further laden with ſuch briefs as this of *M'Carthy*, it will prove ſo great a diſcouragement, that we ſhall never be able to provide honeſt and ſufficient perſons for that weighty office of church-warden, ſo neceſſary to the laity as well the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of pariſhes.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, we humbly hope that your Grace, of whoſe fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderneſs, we have had ſo many and great inſtances, will repreſent our caſe to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, or to the Chief Governor in this kingdom, in ſuch a manner, that we may be neither under the neceſſity of declining his Majeſty's commands in his letters-patent, or of taking new and grievous burdens upon ourſelves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubric nor any other law in force oblige us to ſubmit.

AN

ANSWER

TO

BICKERSTAFF.

Some Reflections upon Mr Bickerſtaff's *Predictions for the Year* M,DCC,VIII *.

By a Person of Quality.

I Have not obſerved, for ſome years paſt, any inſignificant paper to have made more noiſe, or be more greedily bought, than that of theſe predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amuſement for the better ſort, and a jeſt only to the wiſe; yet, among theſe laſt, I have heard ſome very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himſelf. Whoever he was, he ſeems to have with great art adjuſted his paper both to pleaſe the rabble and to entertain perſons of condition. The writer is, without queſtion, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece ſeems haſtily written in a ſudden frolic, with the ſcornful thought of the pleaſure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: Nor do I doubt but he and his friends in the ſecret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thouſand fools they have already made. And he has them faſt for ſome time: For ſo they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great queſtion whether the miſcarriage of the two or three firſt will ſo entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them

* See Vol. IV. p. 305.

them from expecting the accompliſhing of the reſt. I doubt not but ſome thouſands of theſe papers are carefully preſerved by as many perſons, to confront with the events, and try whether the aſtrologer exactly keeps the day and the hour. And theſe I take to be Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s choiceſt cullies, for whoſe ſake chiefly he writ his amuſement. Mean while he has ſeven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in ſuſpenſe; for it is ſo long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the firſt prediction: And, if that fellow happens to be a ſplenetic viſionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the propheſy may punctually come to paſs by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-uſed by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a ſlow poiſon into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earneſt to languiſh and decay, by the mere ſtrength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jeſt went too far. The like effect upon *Partridge* would wonderfully raiſe Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from *France* whether the Cardinal *de Noailles* were dead or alive upon the fourth of *April*, which is the ſecond of his predictions.

For a piece ſo careleſsly written, the obſervations upon aſtrology are reaſonable and pertinent, the remarks juſt; and, as the paper is partly deſigned, in my opinion, for a ſatire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, ſo it is no more than what we all of us deſerve. And, ſince we muſt be teazed with perpetual hawkers of *ſtrange and wonderful* things, I am glad to ſee a man of ſenſe find leiſure and humour to take up the trade for his own and our diverſion. To ſpeak in the town-phraſe it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jeſt, and may be ſatisfied.

I very much approve the ſerious air he gives himſelf in his introduction and concluſion, which has gone far to give ſome people of no mean rank an opinion

that the author believes himſelf. He tells us, " He " places the whole credit of his art on the truth of " theſe predictions, and will be content to be hooted " by *Partridge* and the reſt for a cheat, if he fails in " any one particular;" with ſeveral other ſtrains of the ſame kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether *Iſaac Bickerſtaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But it ſeems, although he has joined an odd ſirname to no very common Chriſtian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no ſmall mortification to this gentleman aſtrologer, as well as his bookſeller, to find their piece, which they ſent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately ſeized on by three or four interloping printers of *Grub-ſtreet*, the title ſtuffed with an abſtract of the whole matter, together with the ſtandard epithets of *ſtrange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior claſs, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny a-piece.* But *ſic cecidit Phaeton:* And, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the ſame fate: To-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys and wenches in ſtraw-hats*, and I muſt an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to ſale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worſe, my acquaintance in the coffee-houſe will aſk me whether I have ſeen the Anſwer to 'Squire *Bickerſtaff*'s predictions, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: And how to keep a man's countenance in ſuch a juncture is no eaſy point of conduct. When, in this caſe, you ſee a man ſhy either in praiſing or condemning, ready to turn off the diſcourſe to another ſubject, ſtanding as little in the light as he can to hide his bluſhing, pretending to ſneeze or take ſnuff, or go off as if ſudden buſineſs called him; then ply him cloſe, obſerve his looks narrowly, ſee whether his ſpeech be conſtrained or affected, then charge him ſuddenly, or whiſper and ſmile, and you will ſoon diſcover whether he be guilty. Although this ſeem not to the purpoſe I am diſcourſing on, yet I think

think it to be ſo; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of *Bickerſtaff*'s Predictions, and did not meet with him ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe at *Covent-Garden*.

As to the matter of the Predictions themſelves, I ſhall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr *Partridge* to take them into his conſideration, and lay as many errors in aſtrology as poſſible to Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s account. He may juſtly, I think, challenge the 'Squire to publiſh the calculation he has made of *Partridge*'s nativity, by the credit of which he ſo determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr *Bickerſtaff* can do no leſs, in honour, than give Mr *Partridge* the ſame advantage of calculating *his*, by ſending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars neceſſary for ſuch a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the diſpute, and take part on each ſide according as they are inclined.

I ſhould likewiſe adviſe Mr *Partridge* to inquire, why Mr *Bickerſtaff* does not ſo much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publiſhing his paper? This looks a little ſuſpicious, as if he were deſirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, elſe it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of *March*; which is not ſo fair dealing as we have, even from Mr *Partridge* and his brethren, who give us their predictions (ſuch as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one paſſage in Mr *Bickerſtaff*'s paper that ſeems to be as high a ſtrain of aſſurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of *June* which relates to the *French* Prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly diſperſe, by "ſeeing the time come wherein their prophecies ſhould "be fulfilled, and then finding themſelves deceived by "contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reaſon, "his wonder how any deceiver can be ſo "weak, to foretel things near at hand, when a very

" few months muſt diſcover the impoſture to all the " world." This is ſpoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedneſs, as if he would have us think himſelf to be not under the leaſt apprehenſion, that the ſame in two months will be his own caſe. With reſpect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of ſo refined and pleaſant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not reſent as an uncivil word, becauſe I am ſure I enter into his taſte, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deſerves a reprimand for writing with ſo much ſcorn and contempt for the underſtandings of the majority.

For the month of *July*, he tells us of " a general, " who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputa- " tion he loſt by former misfortunes." This is commonly underſtood to be Lord *Galloway*; who, if he be already dead, as ſome news-papers have it, Mr *Bickerſtaff* has made a trip. But this I do not much inſiſt on; for it is hard if *another general* cannot be found under the *ſame circumſtances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The *French* King's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at *Marli*, where he never goes at that ſeaſon of the year, as I obſerved myſelf during three years I paſſed in that kingdom: And, diſcourſing ſome months ago with Monſieur *Tallard*, about the *French* court, I find that King never goes to *Marli* for any time, but about the ſeaſon of hunting there, which is not till *Auguſt*. So that here was an unlucky ſlip of Mr *Bickerſtaff*, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with reſuming his promiſe, of publiſhing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other aſtrologers need not be in very much pain. I ſuppoſe we ſhall have them much about the ſame time with *The General Hiſtory of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and, though I am no aſtrologer, may venture to propheſy that *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; is now dead, and died juſt at the time his Predictions were ready for the preſs: That he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four

four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps deſcend a ſecond time, when he has ſome new, agreeable, or amuſing whimſy to paſs upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will ſucceed as often as he is diſpoſed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preſerve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's underſtandings, and is reſolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

HINTS

ON

GOOD MANNERS.

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reaſonable perſon in the company eaſy, and to be eaſy ourſelves.

What paſſeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many perſons of both ſexes, whom I have known, and who paſſed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the moſt troubleſome in company to others and themſelves.

Nothing is ſo great an inſtance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you pleaſe none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the reſt.

Flattery is the worſt, and falſeſt way of ſhewing our eſteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reaſonable perſons are every minute tempted to curſe the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be moſt diſtinguiſhed for their good-manners.

A man of ſenſe would rather faſt till night, than dine at ſome tables, where the lady of the houſe is poſſeſſed with good-manners; uneaſineſs, preſſing to eat, teazing with civility; leſs practiſed in *England* than here.

Courts are the worſt of all ſchools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dreſs, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good underſtanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occaſion.

To ſpeak in ſuch a manner as may poſſibly offend any reaſonable perſon in company, is the higheſt inſtance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly conſiſt in action, not in words. Modeſty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have

I have known the court of *England* under four reigns, the two laſt but for a ſhort time; and, whatever good-manners or politeneſs I obſerved in any of them, was not of the court-growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen-uſhers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, * * * * * * * * * *

Of good manners as to converſation.

Men of wit and good underſtanding, as well as breeding, are ſometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of thoſe with whom they converſe than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the moſt innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praiſe, to be miſtaken for abuſe and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to ſuffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, who are abſent in company, interrupters, not liſteners, loud laughers.

Of thoſe men and women whoſe face is ever in a ſmile, talk ever with a ſmile, condole with a ſmile, *&c.*

Argument, as uſually managed, is the worſt ſort of converſation; as it is generally in books the worſt ſort of reading.

Good converſation is not to be expected in much company, becauſe few liſten, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are diſcovered let the company be ever ſo large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of converſation. It is done to ſupport a character: It generally fails: It is a ſort of inſult on the company, and a conſtraint upon the ſpeaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or buſineſs, or faculty, is a great breach of good-manners. Divines, phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakneſs. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * * * * * * * *

RESOLU-

RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the Year M, D C, X C I X.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unleſs they really deſire it.

Not to be peeviſh, or moroſe, or ſuſpicious.

Not to ſcorn preſent ways, or wits, or faſhions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the ſame ſtory over and over to the ſame people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency, or cleanlineſs, for fear of falling into naſtineſs.

Not to be over ſevere with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weakneſſes.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to knaviſh tattling ſervants, or others

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but thoſe who deſire it.

To deſire ſome good friends to inform me which of theſe reſolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myſelf.

Not to boaſt of my former beauty, or ſtrength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be believed by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditates captant, odiſſe ac vitare*

Not to be poſitive or opiniative.

Not to ſet up for obſerving all theſe rules, for fear I ſhould obſerve none.

LAWS

LAWS

FOR THE

DEAN'S SERVANTS.

DECEMBER 7th, M,DCC,XXXIII.

IF either of the two men-ſervants be drunk, he ſhall pay an *Engliſh* crown out of his wages for the ſaid offence, by giving the Dean a receipt for ſo much wages received.

When the Dean is at home, no ſervant ſhall preſume to be abſent, without giving notice to the Dean, and aſking leave, upon the forfeiture of ſixpence for every half-hour that he is abſent, to be ſtopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean is abroad, no ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to leave the houſe for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's abſence he ſhall forfeit ſixpence: And, if the other ſervant goes out before the firſt returns, he ſhall pay five ſhillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever ſervant ſhall be taken in a manifeſt lie, ſhall forfeit one ſhilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean goes about the houſe, or out-houſes, or garden, or to *Naboth*'s Vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any ſervant under whoſe care it was, that ſervant ſhall forfeit ſixpence, and ſee to get it mended as ſoon as poſſible, or ſuffer more forfeitures at the Dean's diſcretion.

If two ſervants be abroad together when the Dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the Dean, the concealer ſhall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If,

If, in waiting at table, the two ſervants be out of the room together, without orders, the laſt who went out ſhall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the Dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the ſame penalty with the men: But provided the two men-ſervants keep the houſe until ſhe returns; otherwiſe, either of the ſervants, who goes out before her return, ſhall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the Dean ſhall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his ſervants, and forfeitures for neglect or diſobedience, all the ſervants ſhall be bound to ſubmit to.

Whatever other ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to be drunk, the other two ſervants ſhall inform the Dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, beſides the forfeiture of a crown from the ſaid ſervant who was drunk.

A QUA-

A

QUAKER's LETTER from PHILADELPHIA, TO JONATHAN SWIFT IN DUBLIN.

Chilad, *March* 29. 1729.

Friend JONATHAN SWIFT,

HAVING been often agreeably amuſed by thy Tale, *&c. &c.* and being now loading a ſmall ſhip for *Dublin*, I have ſent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of *America*; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, ſince it is only deſigned to let thee know that thy wit and parts are in eſteem at this diſtance from the place of thy reſidence. Thee need aſk no queſtions who this comes from, ſince I am a perfect ſtranger to thee.

CHARAC-

CHARACTER

OF

MRS H * * * * D.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXVII.

I SHALL ſay nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all perſons who can judge of either, when they hear or ſee her. Beſides, beauty being tranſient, and a trifle, cannot juſtly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, becauſe it will be of no uſe in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither ſhall I relate any part of her hiſtory; further than, that ſhe went, in the prime of her youth, to the Court of *Hanover* with her husband, and became of the Bed-chamber to the preſent Princeſs of *Wales*, living in expectation of the Queen's * death: Upon which event ſhe came over with her Miſtreſs, and hath ever ſince continued in her ſervice; where from the attendance daily paid her by the miniſters, and all expectants, ſhe is reckoned much the greateſt favourite of the court at *Leiceſter-houſe*: A ſituation which ſhe hath long affected to deſire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and diſpoſitions of things and perſons at *St James's*, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the preſent poſture of a court, or more early foreſee what ſtyle may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof ſhe can gather early intelligence without aſking it, and often when even thoſe from whom ſhe hath it are not ſenſible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her ſagacity. Sir *Robert Walpole* and ſhe both think they underſtand each other, and are both equally miſtaken.

With

* Queen Anne.

With perſons where ſhe is to manage, ſhe is very dextrous in that point of ſkill which the *French* call *tâter le pavè*; with others ſhe is a great vindicator of all preſent proceedings, but in ſuch a manner, as if ſhe were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwiſe. And the danger is, that ſhe may come in time to believe herſelf; which, under a change of princes and a great addition of credit, might have bad conſequences. She is a moſt unconſcionable dealer; for, in a return of a few good words, which ſhe gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, ſhe gets ten thouſand from them behind her back, which are of real ſervice to her character. The credit ſhe hath is managed with the utmoſt thrift; and, whenever ſhe employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon ſuch occaſions where ſhe is ſure to get much more than ſhe ſpends. For inſtance, ſhe would readily preſs Sir *Robert Walpole* to do ſome favour for Colonel *Churchill*, or *Doddington*; the Prince, for a mark of grace to Mr *Schutz*; and the Princeſs, to be kind to Mrs *Clayton*. She ſometimes falls into the general miſtake of all courtiers, which is that of not ſuiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking thoſe ſhe deals with to have leſs art than they really poſſeſs; ſo that ſhe may poſſibly be deceived when ſhe thinks ſhe deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except thoſe of a courtier, ſhe acts with juſtice, generoſity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private perſon, and I would almoſt think in charity that ſhe will not do harm as a courtier, unleſs to pleaſe thoſe in chief power.

In religion ſhe is at leaſt a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Free-thinkers; and herein ſhe is the more blameable, becauſe ſhe hath too much morality to ſtand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to ſalvation. I ſpeak this of her as a private Lady, not as a Court-favourite; for, in the latter capacity, ſhe can ſhew neither faith nor works.

If ſhe had never ſeen a court, it is not impoſſible that ſhe might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words and expreſſions of good wiſhes, and will concert a hundred ſchemes for the ſervice of thoſe whom ſhe would be thought to favour: Schemes that ſometimes ariſe from them, and ſometimes from herſelf; although, at the ſame time, ſhe very well knows them to be without the leaſt probability of ſucceeding. But to do her juſtice, ſhe never feeds or deceives any perſon with promiſes, where ſhe doth not at the ſame time intend a degree of ſincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the beſt accompliſhments, who have nothing to deſire or expect.

What part ſhe may act hereafter in a larger ſphere, as Lady of the Bed-chamber to a great Q— n, (upon ſuppoſing the death of his preſent Majeſty *, and of the Earl of *Suffolk*, to whoſe title her huſband ſucceeds) and in high eſteem with a K — g, neither ſhe nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will ſpread, enlarge, and multiply to ſuch a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a cheſt), to be uſed and put on, whenever ſatiety, or ſome reverſe of fortune, or increaſe of ill health, (to which laſt ſhe is ſubject) ſhall diſpoſe her to retire. In the mean time, it will be her wiſdom to take care that they may not be tarniſhed or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at leaſt once a year.

* George the Firſt.

CHARAC-

CHARACTER

OF

DOCTOR *SHERIDAN.*

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXXVIII.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at *Rathfarnam* the tenth of *October* 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: His diſeaſes were a dropſy and aſthma. He was doubtleſs the beſt inſtructor of youth in theſe kingdoms, or perhaps in *Europe*; and as great a maſter of the *Greek* and *Roman* languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His *Engliſh* verſes were full of wit and humour, but neither his proſe nor verſe ſufficiently correct: However, he would readily ſubmit to any friend who had a true taſte in proſe or verſe. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in ſeveral volumes, of ſtories, humorous, witty, wiſe, or ſome way uſeful, gathered from a vaſt number of *Greek*, *Roman*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, and *Engliſh* writers. I believe I may have ſeen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But, among thoſe extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five in ſix, at leaſt, were of little uſe or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently the caſe in men of wit and learning) what the *French* call a *Dupe*, and in a very high degree. The greateſt dunce of a tradeſman could impoſe upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief ſhining quality was that of a ſchool-maſter; here he ſhone in his proper element. He had ſo much ſkill and practice in the phyſiognomy of boys, that he rarely miſtook at the firſt view. His ſcholars loved and feared him. He often rather choſe to ſhame the ſtupid, but puniſhed the idle, and expoſed them to

[illegible]

[illegible] that he could not add fourteen [illegible] to finish the year; which, [illegible] have been removed to a [illegible] year, would have been [illegible] a fellowship in *Oxford* [illegible] was forced to recal him [illegible] in our university to send [illegible] he hath been chosen of the founda- [illegible] I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and [illegible] for a fellowship.

The [illegible] had a good church-living, in the south [illegible] of *[illegible]*, given him by Lord *Carteret*; who, [illegible] himself, encourageth it in others. [illegible] of the Doctor's prevailed on his Excellency [illegible] The living was well worth 150 *l. per annum.*

annum. He changed it very ſoon for that of *Dunboyn*; which, by the knavery of the farmers and power of the gentlemen, fell ſo very low, that he could never get 80 *l*. He then changed that living for the free-ſchool of *Cavan*, where he might have lived well, in ſo cheap a country, on 80 *l*. ſalary *per annum*, beſides his ſcholars: But the air, he ſaid, was too moiſt and unwholeſome, and he could not bear the company of ſome perſons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he ſold the ſchool for about 400 *l*. ſpent the money, grew into diſeaſes, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as juſt, in thoſe many perſons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under Doctor *Sheridan*, if they would pleaſe to erect ſome decent monument over his body, in the church where it is depoſited.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

SECOND *SOLOMON**.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

HE became acquainted with a perſon diſtinguiſhed for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent ſtation, who treated him with great kindneſs on all occaſions, and he became familiar in this perſon's houſe †. In three months time, *Solomon*, without the leaſt provocation, writ a long poem, deſcribing that perſon's muſe to be dead, and making a funeral ſolemnity with aſſes, owls, *&c.* and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a moſt deſerving lady, an intimate friend of the above perſon ‡, who entertained him alſo as ſhe would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice, in the moſt decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, She was like other women, as bad as ſhe was, and that they were all alike: Although his wife be, in every regard except gallantry, (which no creature would attempt) the moſt diſagreeable beaſt in *Europe*.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as ſhe deſerves) govern, inſult, and ruin him, as ſhe pleaſes. Her character is this: Her perſon is deteſtably diſagreeable; a moſt filthy ſlut; lazy, and ſlothful, and luxurious, ill-natured, envious, ſuſpicious; a ſcold, expenſive on herſelf, covetous to others: She takes thieves and whores, for cheapneſs, to be her ſervants, and turns

* *Dr Sheridan.* † Dean *Swift.* ‡ *Stella.*

turns them off every week: Poſitive, inſolent; an ignorant, prating, overweening fool; a lover of the dirtieſt, meaneſt company: An abominable tatler, affecting to be jealous of her husband with ladies of the beſt rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill deſign upon any perſon but himſelf, and he is the greateſt deceiver of himſelf on all occaſions.

His thoughts are ſudden, and the moſt unreaſonable always comes uppermoſt; and he conſtantly reſolves and acts upon his firſt thoughts, and then aſks advice, but never once before.

The perſon above-mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the Lord Lieutenant: Upon going down to take poſſeſſion, *Solomon* preached, at *Cork*, a ſermon on King *George*'s birth-day, on this text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.* *Solomon* having been famous for a high Tory, and ſuſpected as a Jacobite, it was a moſt difficult thing to get any thing for him: But that perſon, being an old friend of Lord *Cartaret*, prevailed againſt all *Solomon*'s enemies, and got him made likewiſe one of his Excellency's chaplains. But, upon this ſermon, he was ſtruck out of the liſt, and forbid the caſtle, until that ſame perſon brought him again to the Lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy ſprung in *Solomon*'s head, that a houſe near *Dublin* would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*: Immediately, without conſulting with any creature, he takes a leaſe of a rotten-houſe at *Rathfarnam*, the worſt air in *Ireland*, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year; the land, which was only a ſtrip of ground, not being worth twenty ſhillings a year. When the ſame perſon whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged *Solomon* to get a clauſe of ſurrender, and at laſt prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years; becauſe it was a madneſs to pay eleven pounds a year, for a thouſand years, for a houſe that could not laſt twenty. But *Solomon* made an agreement with his land-

land-lady, that he ſhould be at liberty to ſurrender his leaſe in ſeven years; and, if he did not do it at that time, ſhould be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the mean time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the houſe and garden-wall; and, in leſs than three years, contracts ſuch a hatred to the houſe, that he lets it run to ruin: So that, when the ſeven years are expired, he muſt either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be ſued for waſte, and loſe all the money he laid out: And now he pays twelve pounds a year for a place he never ſees.

Solomon has an eſtate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of *Cavan*; upon which, inſtead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pounds *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a Biſhop's leaſe: He is bound by articles to his Lordſhip to renew and pay a fine, whenever the Biſhop renews with his landlord, and to raiſe his rent as the landlord ſhall raiſe it to the Biſhop. Seven years expire: *Solomon*'s landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays; then aſks for a leaſe: The landlord ſays, he may have it at any time. He never gets it. Another ſeven years elapſe: *Solomon*'s landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: *Solomon* pays both; aſks to have his leaſe renewed: The ſteward anſwers, he will ſpeak to his maſter. Seventeen years are elapſed: The landlord ſends *Solomon* word that his leaſe is forfeited, becauſe he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles; and now they are at law upon this admirable caſe.

It is *Solomon*'s great happineſs, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life, againſt common ſenſe and reaſon, he values himſelf thereupon, as if it were the mark of a great genius, above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to deſcend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot make him a greater compliment, than by telling inſtances to the company, before his face, how careleſs he was in any affair that related to his intereſt and fortune.

He

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to reſent as an affront and indignity, what was never intended for either.

He is allured as eaſily by every new acquaintance, eſpecially among women, as a child is by a new play-thing, and is led at will by them to ſuſpect and quarrel with his beſt friends, of whom he hath loſt the greateſt part, for want of that indulgency which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honeſt, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and diſcretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honeſt, nor good-natured.

The perſon above mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country and out of order; *Solomon* had appointed to come for him with a chaiſe, and bring him to town. *Solomon* ſent him word that he was to ſet out on *Monday*, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there ſtaid, with her and her family, a month, then ſent the chaiſe, in the midſt of winter, to bring the ſaid perſon, where *Solomon* would meet him, declaring he could not venture himſelf for fear of the froſt: And upon the ſaid perſon's refuſing to go in the chaiſe alone, or to truſt to *Solomon*'s appointment, and being in ill health; *Solomon* fell into a formal quarrel with that perſon, and foully miſrepreſented the whole affair to juſtify himſelf.

Solomon had publiſhed a humourous ballad, called *Balyſpellin* *, whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr *Gay*'s on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of *Balyſpellin*. His friend, the perſon ſo often mentioned, being at a gentleman's houſe in the neighbourhood, and merry over *Solomon*'s ballad, they agreed to make another, in diſpraiſe of *Balyſpellin-wells*, which *Solomon* had celebrated, and with all new ryhmes not made uſe of in *Sclomon*'s †. The thing was done, and all in a mere jeſt and innocent merriment. Yet *Soloman*

* See Vol. X. † Ibid.

Solomon was prevailed upon, by the Lady he went with, to reſent this as an affront on her and himſelf; which he did accordingly, againſt all the rules of reaſon, taſte, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite ſix or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, ſome of them living five or ſix miles from town. On the day appointed he will be abſent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back diſappointed: When he is told of this, he is pleaſed, becauſe it ſhews him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the preſent Queen's birth-day he write a ſong, to be performed before the Government and thoſe who attended them, in praiſe of the Queen and the King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of *England*, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the Royal Children were ſharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics, which were mentioned in abundance. A young collegian, who had done the ſame job the year before, got ſome reputation on the account of his wit: *Solomon* would needs vie with him, by which he loſt all the eſteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the leaſt intereſt with the Whigs; for they are now too ſtrong to want advocates of that kind: And therefore one of the Lords Juſtices, reading the verſes in ſome company, ſaid, "Ah, Doctor, this ſhall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living ſoul, as he himſelf confeſſeth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in a hundred inſtances, leaves him as poſitive in the next inſtance as if he had never been miſtaken in his life: And if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the laſt, he hath another inſtance ready, wherein he is as poſitive as he was the day before.

ON

ON THE DEATH OF

Mrs JOHNSON, [STELLA.]

THIS day, being *Sunday*, *January* 28th 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a ſervant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the trueſt, moſt virtuous, and valuable friend, that I or perhaps any other perſon ever was bleſſed with. She expired about ſix in the evening of this day; and, as ſoon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I reſolve, for my own ſatisfaction, to ſay ſomething of her life and character.

She was born at *Richmond* in *Surrey*, on the thirteenth day of *March*, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in *Nottinghamſhire*, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed ſhe had little to boaſt of her birth. I knew her from ſix years old, and had ſome ſhare in her education, by directing what books ſhe ſhould read, and perpetually inſtructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which ſhe never ſwerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was ſickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen: But then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the moſt beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in *London*, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where ſhe contracted an intimate friendſhip with another lady * of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) ſettled in *Ireland*; and, about a year after, going to viſit my friends in *England*, I found ſhe was a little uneaſy upon the death of a perſon on whom ſhe had ſome dependence. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the intereſt of which

* Mrs *Dingley*.

which was but a ſcanty maintenance, in ſo dear a country, for one of her ſpirit. Upon this conſideration, and indeed very much for my own ſatisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in *Ireland*, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady, to draw what money they had into *Ireland*, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in *Ireland*, beſides the advantage of returning it, and all neceſſaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and ſoon after came over; but, I happening to continue ſome time longer in *England*, they were much diſcouraged to live in *Dublin*, where they were wholly ſtrangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her perſon was ſoon diſtinguiſhed. But the adventure looked ſo like a frolic, the cenſure held, for ſome time, as if there were a ſecret hiſtory in ſuch a removal; which, however, ſoon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For ſome years paſt, ſhe had been viſited with continual ill-health; and ſeveral times, within theſe laſt two years, her life was deſpaired of. But, for this twelve-months paſt, ſhe never had a day's health; and, properly ſpeaking, ſhe hath been dying ſix months, but kept alive, almoſt againſt nature, by the generous kindneſs of two phyſicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the ſame night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her ſex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and converſation. Yet her memory was not of the beſt, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of perſons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the beſt, and with the greateſt freedom, mixt with the greateſt decency. She had a gracefulneſs ſomewhat more than human in every motion, word, and action. Never was ſo happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, eaſineſs and ſincerity. There ſeemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: Yet

Yet people of all ſorts were never more eaſy than in her company. Mr *Addiſon*, when he was in *Ireland*, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not ſoon after left the kingdom, aſſured me he would have uſed all endeavours to cultivate her friendſhip. A rude or conceited coxcomb paſſed his time very ill, upon the leaſt breach of reſpect; for, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe had no mercy, but was ſure to expoſe him to the contempt of the ſtanders-by; yet in ſuch a manner as he was aſhamed to complain, and durſt not reſent. All of us, who had the happineſs of her friendſhip, agreed unanimouſly, that, in an afternoon or evening's converſation, ſhe never failed before we parted of delivering the beſt thing that was ſaid in the company. Some of us have written down ſeveral of her ſayings, or what the *French* call *Bon Mots*, wherein ſhe excelled almoſt beyond belief*. She never miſtook the underſtanding of others; nor ever ſaid a ſevere word, but where a much ſeverer was deſerved.

Her ſervants loved and almoſt adored her at the ſame time. She would, upon occaſions, treat them with freedom, yet her demeanour was ſo awful, that they durſt not fail in the leaſt point of reſpect. She chid them ſeldom, but it was with ſeverity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th, My head achs, and I can write no more.

January 30th, *Tueſday*.

This is the night of the funeral, which my ſickneſs will not ſuffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not ſee the light in the church, which is juſt over againſt the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the ſoftneſs of temper that became a lady, ſhe had the perſonal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new houſe, which ſtood ſolitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the houſe, where there was only one boy: She was then about four and twenty: And, having been warned to apprehend ſome ſuch attempt, ſhe learned the

* See Vol. VI. p. 115.

management of a piſtol; and, the other women and ſervants being half dead with fear, ſhe ſtole ſoftly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being ſeen, primed the piſtol freſh, gently lifted up the ſaſh; and, taking her aim with the utmoſt preſence of mind, diſcharged the piſtol loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who ſtood the faireſt mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the reſt, and died the next morning, but his companions could not be found. The Duke of *Ormond* hath often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high eſteem of her. She was indeed under ſome apprehenſions of going in a boat, after ſome danger ſhe had narrowly eſcaped by water, but ſhe was reaſoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or diſcover any fear, in a coach or on horſeback, or any uneaſineſs by thoſe ſudden accidents with which moſt of her ſex, either by weakneſs or affectation, appear ſo much diſordered.

She never had the leaſt abſence of mind in converſation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently until another had done. She ſpoke in a moſt agreeable voice, in the plaineſt words, never heſitating, except out of modeſty before new faces, where ſhe was ſomewhat reſerved; nor, among her neareſt friends, ever ſpoke much at a time. She was but little verſed in the common topics of female chat; ſcandal, cenſure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: Yet, among a few friends, in private converſation, ſhe made little ceremony in diſcovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and deſcribing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own ſex ſhe was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When ſhe was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a perſon of high ſtation, eſpecially in the church, ſhe could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without ſhewing her diſpleaſure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter ſort, whom ſhe had known and eſteemed, but deteſted above all mankind, when it was manifeſt that they had ſacrificed thoſe two precious virtues to their

their ambition, and would much ſooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of ſickneſs, in moſt parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progreſs in reading which ſhe would otherwiſe have done. She was well verſed in the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtory, and was not unſkilled in that of *France* and *England*. She ſpoke *French* perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and ſickneſs. She had read carefully all the beſt books of travels, which ſerve to open and enlarge the mind. She underſtood the *Platonic* and *Epicurean* philoſophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abſtracts of the beſt books ſhe had read. She underſtood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of *Hobbes*, both in that and religion. She had a good inſight into phyſic, and knew ſomewhat of anatomy; in both which ſhe was inſtructed in her younger days by an eminent phyſician, who had her long under his care, and bore the higheſt eſteem for her perſon and underſtanding. She had a true taſte of wit and good ſenſe, both in poetry and proſe, and was a perfect good critic of ſtyle: Neither was it eaſy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whoſe advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to ſend a thing into the world, provided it was on a ſubject that came within the compaſs of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, ſhe was ſometimes too ſevere, which is a ſafe and pardonable error. She preſerved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the laſt, but often uſed to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with ſome acceſſion, could not, as I have heard ſay, amount to much more than two thouſand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in *England*, and one in *Ireland*. In a perſon ſo extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention ſome particulars, although of little moment, further than to ſet forth her character. Some preſents of gold pieces being often made to her while ſhe was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promiſe to keep them, ſhe grew into ſuch a ſpirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She uſed to

ſhew them with boaſting; but her mother, apprehending ſhe would be cheated of them, prevailed, in ſome months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to intereſt: When the girl loſt the pleaſure of ſeeing and counting her gold, which ſhe never failed of doing many times in a day, and deſpaired of heaping up ſuch another treaſure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: She grew careleſs and ſquandering of every new acquiſition, and ſo continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of ſome friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradeſmen, who enticed her into their debt, ſhe began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at reſt until ſhe had diſcharged all her ſhop-bills, and refunded herſelf a conſiderable ſum ſhe had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years and a ſuperior underſtanding, ſhe became, and continued all her life a moſt prudent oeconomiſt; yet ſtill with a ſtrong bent to the liberal ſide, wherein ſhe gratified herſelf by avoiding all expence in cloaths, (which ſhe ever deſpiſed) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of ſickneſs were very chargeable, except fees to phyſicians, of which ſhe met with ſeveral ſo generous that ſhe could force nothing on them, (and indeed ſhe muſt otherwiſe have been undone;) yet ſhe never was without a conſiderable ſum of ready money. Inſomuch that, upon her death, when her neareſt friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her ſtrong-box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowneſs of her fortune in nothing ſo much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends ſo often, and in ſo hoſpitable a manner as ſhe deſired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while ſhe was in health to direct, were treated with neatneſs and elegance: So that the revenues of her and her companion, paſſed for much more conſiderable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings, their domeſtics conſiſting of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family expences, from her arrival in *Ireland* to ſome months before her death; aud ſhe would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her *houſhold bills*, that every thing neceſſary for life was

double

double the price, while intereſt of money was ſunk almoſt to one half; ſo that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown abſolutely neceſſary.

[I ſince writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminiſhed, and therefore became a tax upon thoſe tradeſmen who furniſh the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as ſeldom as poſſible, and thoſe as plain and cheap as conſiſted with the ſituation ſhe was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of thoſe on whom ſhe beſtowed her charity; for it went further in doing good than double the ſum from any other hand. And I have heard her ſay, ſhe always met with gratitude from the poor: Which muſt be owing to her ſkill in diſtinguiſhing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But ſhe had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however it was a pleaſure ſhe could not reſiſt: I mean that of making agreeable preſents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as moſt in the courſe of life. She uſed to define a preſent, That it was a gift to a friend of ſomething he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be eaſily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, ſhe hath, in theſe and ſome other kinds of liberality, diſpoſed of to the value of ſeveral hundred pounds. As to preſents made to herſelf, ſhe received them with great unwillingneſs, but eſpecially from thoſe to whom ſhe had ever given any; being on all occaſions the moſt diſintereſted mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own diſpoſition, at leaſt as much as from the frequent want of health, ſhe ſeldom made any viſits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many perſons of the graver ſort, who all reſpected her highly, upon her good ſenſe, good manners, and converſation. Among theſe were the late Primate *Lindſay*, Biſhop *Loyd*, Biſhop *Aſhe*, Biſhop *Brown*, Biſhop *Stearn*, Biſhop *Pulleyn*, with ſome others of later date; and indeed the greateſt

number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modeſty, were the virtues ſhe chiefly poſſeſſed, and moſt valued in her acquaintance; and where ſhe found them, would be ready to allow for ſome defects, nor valued them leſs, although they did not ſhine in learning or in wit; but would never give the leaſt allowance for any failures in the former, even to thoſe who made the greateſt figure in either of the two latter. She had no uſe of any perſon's liberality, yet her deteſtation of covetous people made her uneaſy if ſuch a one was in her company; upon which occaſion ſhe would ſay many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any perſon who ſpoke; ſhe laughed at no miſtakes they made, but helped them out with modeſty; and if a good thing were ſpoken, but neglected, ſhe would not let it fall, but ſet it in the beſt light to thoſe who were preſent. She liſtened to all that was ſaid, and had never the leaſt diſtraction, or abſence of thought.

It was not ſafe nor prudent, in her preſence, to offend in the leaſt word againſt modeſty; for ſhe then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and reſentment, under which even ſtupidity and brutality were forced to ſink into confuſion; and the guilty perſon, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a ſatyr, was never in a way to tranſgreſs a ſecond time.

It happened one ſingle coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among ſeveral other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver ſome double meanings: The reſt flapt their fans, and uſed the other common expedients practiſed in ſuch caſes, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was ſaid. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be cenſured. She ſaid thus to the man: "Sir, all theſe "ladies and I underſtand your meaning very well, ha-"ving, in ſpite of our care, too often met with thoſe "of your ſex who wanted manners and good ſenſe. "But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vicious "women love ſuch kind of converſation. However, "I will leave you, and report your behaviour: And, "whatever viſit I make, I ſhall firſt inquire at the door

" door whether you are in the houſe, that I may be " ſure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of ſuch a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would ſoon put an end to that corrupt converſation, the worſt effect of dulneſs, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and the higheſt affront to the modeſty and underſtanding of the female ſex.

By returning very few viſits, ſhe had not much company of her own ſex, except thoſe whom ſhe moſt loved for their eaſineſs, or eſteemed for their good ſenſe; and thoſe, not inſiſting on ceremony, came often to her. But ſhe rather choſe men for her companions, the uſual topics of ladies diſcourſe being ſuch as ſhe had little knowledge of, and leſs reliſh. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for ſhe eaſily deſcended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, cenſure, family-management, or town-talk, ſhe always diverted to ſomething elſe; but theſe indeed ſeldom happened, for ſhe choſe her company better: And therefore many, who miſtook her and themſelves, having ſollicited her acquaintance, and finding themſelves diſappointed after a few viſits, dropt off; and ſhe was never known to inquire into the reaſon, or aſk what was become of them.

She was never poſitive in arguing, and ſhe uſually treated thoſe who were ſo, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy diſpoſition; yet in ſuch a ſort as made it very contemptible, and at the ſame time did ſome hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her eaſineſs in general, or from her indifference to certain perſons, or from her deſpair of mending them, or from the ſame practice which ſhe much liked in Mr *Addiſon*, I cannot determine; but when ſhe ſaw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, ſhe was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppoſe them. The excuſe ſhe commonly gave when her friends aſked the reaſon, was, That it prevented noiſe, and ſaved time. Yet I have known her very angry with ſome whom ſhe much eſteemed, for ſometimes falling into that infirmity.

She

She loved *Ireland* much better than the generality of thoſe who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune ſhe had in money, left the reverſion of the beſt part of it, one thouſand pounds, to Dr *Stephens*'s Hoſpital. She deteſted the tyranny and injuſtice of *England*, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reaſon to love a country, where ſhe had the eſteem and friendſhip of all who knew her, and the univerſal good-report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by thoſe who keep general converſation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a perſon of ſo much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are uſed to create envy, and conſequently cenſure; and muſt be rather imputed to her great modeſty, gentle behaviour, and inoffenſiveneſs, than to her ſuperior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extenſive than uſually falls to the ſhare of her ſex; yet ſhe was ſo far from making a parade of it, that her female viſitants, on their firſt acquaintance, who expected to diſcover it, by what they call hard words and deep diſcourſe, would be ſometimes diſappointed, and ſay, they found ſhe was like other women. But wiſe men, through all her modeſty, whatever they diſcourſed on, could eaſily obſerve that ſhe underſtood them very well, by the judgment ſhewn in her obſervations as well as in her queſtions.

OF THE

EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a ſubject of controverſy which I have frequently met with, in mixt and ſelect companies of both ſexes, and ſometimes only of men; whether it be prudent to chuſe a wife, who hath good natural ſenſe, ſome taſte of wit and humour, ſufficiently verſed in her own natural language, able to read and to reliſh hiſtory, books of travels, moral or entertaining diſcourſes, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry. This queſtion is generally determined in the negative by the women themſelves, but almoſt univerſally by the men.

We muſt obſerve, that, in this debate, thoſe whom we call men and women of faſhion are only to be underſtood, not merchants, tradeſmen, or others of ſuch occupations, who are not ſuppoſed to have ſhared in a liberal education. I except likewiſe all miniſters of ſtate, during their power, lawyers and phyſicians in great practice, perſons in ſuch employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps ſome other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither muſt I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the General to the Enſign; becauſe thoſe qualifications above-mentioned, in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehenſion; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of muſic, metaphyſicians, virtuoſi, and great talkers, who have all amuſements enough of their own. All theſe put together will amount to a great number of adverſaries, whom I ſhall have no occaſion to encounter, becauſe I am already of their ſentiments. Thoſe perſons, whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and ſquires throughout *England*, whether they reſide between the town and country, or generally in either. I do alſo include thoſe of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in *London*, or any other parts of the kingdom.

The

The moſt material arguments that I have met with, on the negative ſide of this great queſtion, are what I ſhall now impartially report, in as ſtrong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, That the great end of marriage is propagation: That, conſequently, the principal buſineſs of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy: That the wife is to look to her family, watch over the ſervants, ſee that they do their work: That ſhe be abſent from her houſe as little as poſſible: That ſhe is anſwerable for every thing amiſs in the family: That ſhe is to obey all the lawful commands of her husband; and viſit, or be viſited, by no perſons whom he diſapproves. That her whole buſineſs, if well performed, will take up moſt hours of the day: That the greater ſhe is, and the more ſervants ſhe keeps, her inſpection muſt increaſe accordingly. For, as a family repreſents a kingdom, ſo the wife, who is her husband's firſt miniſter, muſt, under him, direct all the officers of State, even to the loweſt; and report their behaviour to her husband, as the firſt miniſter does to his prince. That ſuch a ſtation requires much time, and thought, and order; and, if well executed, leaves but little time for viſits or diverſions.

That a humour of reading books, excepting thoſe of devotion or houſewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain. That plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to inſtruct them how to carry on an intrigue. That all affectation of knowledge, beyond what is merely domeſtic, renders them vain, conceited, and pretending. That the natural levity of women wants ballaſt; and, when ſhe once begins to think ſhe knows more than others of her ſex, ſhe will begin to deſpiſe her husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who pretends to any knowledge in books. That ſhe will learn ſcholaſtic words; make herſelf ridiculous by pronouncing them wrong, and applying them abſurdly in all companies. That, in the mean time, her houſhold affairs, and the care of her children, will be wholly laid aſide; her toilet will be crowded with all the under-wits, where the converſation will paſs in criticiſing on the laſt play or poem that comes out, and

ſhe

ſhe will be careful to remember all the remarks that were made, in order to retail them in the next viſit, eſpecially in company who know nothing of the matter. That ſhe will have all the impertinence of a pedant, without the knowledge; and, for every new acquirement, will become ſo much the worſe.

To ſay the truth, that ſhameful and almoſt univerſal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good eſtates, will make this eſſay of little uſe to the preſent age: For, conſidering the modern way of training up both ſexes in ignorance, idleneſs, and vice, it is of little conſequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my ſpeculations on this ſubject can be only of uſe to a ſmall number: For, in the preſent ſituation of the world, none but wiſe and good men can fail of miſſing their match, whenever they are diſpoſed to marry; and, conſequently, there is no reaſon for complaint on either ſide. The forms by which a huſband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are ſufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil inſtitution: It would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking ſo firm an eſtabliſhment.

But as it ſometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the univerſity, after he hath made ſome progreſs in learning; if we ſuppoſe him to have a tolerable genius, and a deſire to improve it, he may conſequently learn to value and eſteem wiſdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and eſtate come into his own poſſeſſion. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may poſſibly be found, by a ſtrict ſearch among the nobility and gentry throughout *England*, about five hundred. Among thoſe of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a ſon at the univerſity, about treble that number. The ſons of clergymen bred to learning with any ſucceſs, muſt, by reaſon of their parents poverty, be very inconſiderable, many of them being only admitted ſervitors in colleges, (and conſequently proving good for nothing:) I ſhall therefore count them to be

not

not above fourſcore. But, to avoid fractions, I ſhall ſuppoſe there may poſſibly be a round number of two thouſand male human creatures in *England* (including *Wales*), who have a tolerable ſhare of reading and good ſenſe. I include in this liſt all perſons of ſuperior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taſte, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at leaſt five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thouſand families of lords and eſtated gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I ſuppoſe one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a ſufficient ſhare of good ſenſe. Perhaps the cenſure may be juſt. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I ſhall reduce them to one thouſand, which, at leaſt, will be a number ſufficient to fill both Houſes of Parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the ſame manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: Becauſe the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are ſent to boarding-ſchools, or put into the hands of *Engliſh* or *French* governeſſes, and generally the worſt that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thouſand to one, half the number of well-educated nobilty and gentry muſt either continue in a ſingle life, or be forced to couple themſelves with women for whom they can poſſibly have no eſteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gameſters, ſaunterers, endleſs talkers of nonſenſe, ſplenetic idlers, intriguers, given to ſcandal and cenſure, * * * * * * *

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A DIS-

A

DISCOURSE

To prove the ANTIQUITY of the

ENGLISH TONGUE.

Shewing, from various Inſtances, that HEBREW, GREEK, *and* LATIN, *were derived from the* ENGLISH.

DURING the reign of parties, for about forty years paſt, it is a melancholy conſideration to obſerve how *Philology* hath been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greateſt authors, from the reſtoration of learning in *Europe*. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, ſince the Revolution, by any one perſon, with great ſucceſs, except our illuſtrious modern ſtar, Dr *Richard Bentley*, with whom the republic of learning muſt expire; as mathematics did with Sir *Iſaac Newton*. My ambition hath been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a ruſh-light before that great luminary; which, at leaſt, might be of ſome little uſe during thoſe ſhort intervals, while he was ſnuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a buſhel.

My preſent attempt is to aſſert the antiquity of our *Engliſh* Tongue; which, as I ſhall undertake to prove by invincible arguments, hath varied very little for theſe two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four years paſt. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I ſhall uſe my readers much fairer than *Pezron*, *Skinner*, *Vorſtigan*, *Camden*, and many other ſuperficial pretenders have done. For I will put no force upon the words, nor deſire any more favour than to allow for the uſual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think I can make it manifeſt to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now ſpeak it, was originally the ſame with thoſe of the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, however corrupted in ſucceeding times by a mixture of barbariſms. I ſhall only produce, at preſent, two inſtances among a thouſand from the *Latin* tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *neceſſary-houſe*, is altogether an *Engliſh* word, the laſt letter *a* being, by the miſtake of ſome ſcribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography it is called *a cloac*, which had the ſame ſignification; and ſtill continues ſo at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*: Where a man in *a cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient veſſel under it, calls out, as he goes through the ſtreets, *Wha has need of me?* Whatever cuſtomer calls, the veſſel is placed in the corner of the ſtreet, the *cloac*, or a cloak, ſurrounds and covers him, and thus he is eaſed with decency and ſecrecy.

The ſecond inſtance is yet more remarkable. The *Latin* word *Turpis* ſignifieth *naſty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *Turpis* is a plain compoſition of two *Engliſh* words; only, by a ſyncope, the laſt letter of the firſt ſyllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three conſonants together: And theſe two *Engliſh* words expreſs the two moſt unſeemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the *Hebrews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* originally ſpoke the ſame language which we do at preſent; yet I have choſen to confine myſelf chiefly to the proper names of perſons, becauſe I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reaſon of thoſe names being certainly owing to the nature, or ſome diſtinguiſhing action or quality in thoſe perſons, and conſequently expreſſed in the true antient language of the ſeveral people.

I will begin with the *Grecians*, among whom the moſt antient are the great leaders on both ſides in the ſiege of *Troy*. For it is plain from *Homer*, that the *Trojans* ſpoke *Greek* as well as the *Grecians*. Of theſe latter,

latter, *Achilles* was the moſt valiant. This Hero was of a reſtleſs unquiet nature, never giving himſelf any repoſe either in peace or war; and therefore, as *Guy* of *Warwick* was called a Kill-cow, and another terrible man a Kill-devil, ſo this General was called *A Kill-eaſe*, or deſtroyer of eaſe; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other ſide, was the braveſt among the *Trojans*. He had deſtroyed ſo many of the *Greeks*, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his ſoldiers, when they ſaw him fighting, would cry out, "Now the enemy "will be *hackt*, now he will be *tore*." At laſt, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious ſounding, *Hector*.

Diomede, another *Grecian* captain, had the boldneſs to fight with *Venus*, and wound her; whereupon the Goddeſs, in a rage, ordered her ſon *Cupid* to make this Hero be hated by all women, repeating it often that he ſhould *die a maid*; from whence, by a ſmall change in orthography, he was called *Diomede*. And it is to be obſerved, that the term *Maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to perſons of either ſex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next *Grecian* general to *Achilles*. The derivation of his name from *A Jakes*, however aſſerted by great authors, is in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the Hero himſelf. I have often wondered to ſee ſuch learned men miſtake in ſo clear a point. This Hero is known to have been a moſt intemperate liver, as it is uſual with ſoldiers; and, although he were not old, yet, by converſing with camp-ſtrolers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *Age-aches*; but they telling the ſtory about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterwards known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I ſhall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of *Hector*. Her father was a *Scotch* gentleman, of a noble family ſtill-ſubſiſting in that antient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in *Troy*, to which city he led ſome of his countrymen in the defence of Priam, as Dictys Cretenſis

Cretenſis learnedly obſerves; *Hector* fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young lady was called by the ſame name, only a little ſoftened to the *Grecian* accent.

Aſtyanax was the ſon of *Hector* and *Andromache*. When *Troy* was taken, this young Prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to ſwine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which hath, by a peculiar good fortune, been preſerved entire, *A ſty, an ax*.

Mars may be mentioned among theſe, becauſe he fought againſt the *Greeks*. He was called the God of War; and is deſcribed as a ſwearing, ſwaggering, companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiſs *my a--ſe*, "*My a--ſe* in a band-box, *My a--ſe* all over:" Which he repeated ſo commonly, that he got the appellation of *My-a--ſe*; and, by a common abbreviation, *Mars*: from whence, by leaving out the mark of eliſion, *Mars*: And this is a common practice among us at preſent; as in the words *D'anvers, D'avenport, D'anby*, which are now written *Danvers, Davenport, Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwiſe called *Alcides*. Both theſe names are *Engliſh*, with little alteration; and deſcribe the principal qualities of that Hero, who was diſtinguiſhed for being a ſlave to his miſtreſſes, and at the ſame time for his great ſtrength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief miſtreſs, uſed to call her lovers *Her cullies*; and, becauſe this Hero was more and longer ſubject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies*; which, by an eaſy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his proweſs: For, in fight, he uſed to ſtrike on *all ſides*, and was allowed on *all ſides* to be the chief Hero of his age. For one of which reaſons, he was called *All ſides*, or *Alcides*; but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain *Grecian* youth was a great imitator of *Socrates*; which that philoſopher obſerving, with much pleaſure, ſaid to his friends, "There is an *Ape o' mine own days*." After which the young man was called *Epa-*

Epaminondas, and proved to be the moſt virtuous perſon, as well as the greateſt general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of *Troy*. When a gueſt was going to take horſe, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I ſhall "be glad to *ſee you call again*." Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his laſt words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great ſerpent which *Hercules* ſlew. His uſual outward garment was the *raw hyde* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the ſerpent; which, therefore, took its name from the ſkin: The modeſty of that Hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's ſkin, calling that enormous ſnake the *Hyde-raw ſerpent*.

Leda was the mother of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; whom *Jupiter* embracing in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſhe *laid a* couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or *Leda*.

As to *Jupiter* himſelf: It is well known that the ſtatues and pictures of this Heathen God, in the *Roman* catholic countries, reſemble thoſe of St *Peter*, and are often taken the one for the other. The reaſon is manifeſt: For, when the emperors had eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, the Heathens were afraid of acknowledging their Heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a ſtatute of the *Jew Peter*. And thus the principal Heathen God came to be called by the antient *Romans*, with very little alteration, *Jupiter*.

The *Hamadryades* are repreſented by miſtaken antiquity as *Nymphs of the Groves*. But the true account is this: They were women of *Calabria*, who dealt in bacon; and, living near the ſea-ſide, uſed to pickle their bacon in ſalt-water, and then ſet it up to dry in the ſun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days*, and, in proceſs of time, miſ-ſpelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the God of the ſea, had his name from the *Tunes* ſung to him by *Tritons*, upon their ſhells every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almoſt uncorrupted, as well as that of the Tritons, his ſervants;

vants; who, in order to pleaſe their maſter, uſed to *try* all *tones*, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Ariſtotle was a Peripatetic philoſopher, who uſed to inſtruct his ſcholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *ariſe to tell* them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Ariſe to tell.* But ſucceeding ages, who underſtood not this etymology, have, by an abſurd change, made it *Ariſtotle.*

Ariſtophanes was a *Greek* comedian, full of levity, and gave himſelf too much freedom; which made a graver people not ſcruple to ſay, that he had a great deal of *airy ſtuff in his* writings: And theſe words, often repeated, made ſucceeding ages denominate him *Ariſtophanes.* Vide *Roſin. Antiq. l.* iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roaſted in hot aſhes. As ſoon as his cooks heard he was came home to dinner or ſupper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs under the Grate:* Which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made ſtrangers think it was that Prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and poſterity hath been ever ſince under the ſame deluſion.

Pygmalion was a perſon of a very low ſtature, but great valour; which made his townſmen call him *Pygmy lion:* And ſo it ſhould be ſpelt; although the word hath ſuffered leſs by tranſcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a moſt famous mathematician. His ſtudies required much ſilence and quiet: But his wife having ſeveral maids, they were always diſturbing him with their tattle or their buſineſs; which forced him to come out every now and then to the ſtair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye maids*, if you will not be quiet, I "ſhall turn you out of doors." He repeated theſe words, *Hark ye maids*, ſo often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his ſtudy, would ſay, There is *Hark ye maids*, let us ſpeak ſoftly: Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and at laſt, grew ſo general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo

Strabo was a famous geographer; and, to improve his knowledge, travelled over ſeveral countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewiſe add, that he affected great niceneſs and finery in his cloaths: From whence people took occaſion to call him the *Stray beau*; which future ages have pinned down upon him very much to his diſhonour.

Peloponneſus, that famous *Grecian* peninſula, got its name from a *Greek* colony in *Aſia* the *Leſs*; many of whom going for traffic thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters uſed to carry the water through the city in great pails, ſo heavy that they were often forced to ſet them down for eaſe; the tired porters, after they had ſet down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for aſſiſtance to thoſe who were neareſt, in theſe words, *Pail up, and eaſe us.* The ſtranger *Greeks*, hearing theſe words repeated a thouſand times as they paſſed the ſtreet, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign *Greeks* call it *Peloponneſus*, a manifeſt corruption of *Pail up and eaſe us.*

Having mentioned ſo many *Grecians* to prove my hypotheſis, I ſhall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of *Romans*, as I might eaſily do. Some few will be ſufficient.

Cæſar was the greateſt Captain of that empire: The word ought to be ſpelt *Seiſer*, becauſe he *ſeiſed* on not only moſt of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: So that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor ſcholar in the univerſity of *Athens*, wherewith his enemies in *Rome* uſed to reproach him; and, as he paſſed the ſtreets, would call out, *O Ciſer, Ciſer o!* A word ſtill uſed in *Cambridge*, and anſwers to a ſervitor in *Oxford.*

Anibal was a ſworn enemy of the *Romans*, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears at firſt repeating to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expreſſing a ſkilful gameſter, who can take *any ball*; and is very juſtly applied to ſo renowned a commander.

mander. Navigators are led into a ſtrange miſtake upon this article. We have uſually in our fleet ſome large man of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, becauſe it is ſo ſtrong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And ſuch is the deplorable ignorance of our ſeamen, that they miſcall it the *Honey-ball.*

Cartago was the moſt famous trading city in the world; where, in every ſtreet, there was many a *cart a going*, probably laden with merchants goods. Vide *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Suidas* upon the word *Cartago.*

The word *Roman* itſelf is perfectly *Engliſh*, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as Hangman, Drayman, Huntſman, and ſeveral others. It was formerly ſpelt *Row-man*, which is the ſame with *Water-man.* And therefore, when we read of *Jeſta* (or, as it is corruptly ſpelt, *Geſta) Romanorum*, it is to be underſtood of the rough manner of *jeſting* uſed by watermen; who, upon the ſides of rivers, would *row man or' um.* This I think is clear enough to convince the moſt incredulous.

Miſanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a cuſtom of catching a great number of *mice*, then ſhutting them up in a room and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *mice and throw puſs.* The reader obſerves how much the orthography hath been changed without altering the ſound: But ſuch depravations we owe to the injury of time, and groſs ignorance of tranſcribers.

Among the antients, fortune-telling by the ſtars was a very beggarly trade. The profeſſors lay upon ſtraw, and their cabbins were covered with the ſame materials: Whence every one who followed that myſtery was called *A ſtraw lodger*, or a lodger in ſtraw; but, in the new fangled way of ſpelling, *Aſtrologer.*

It is remarkable that the very word *Diphthong* is wholly *Engliſh* In former times ſchool-boys were chaſtiſed with thongs faſtened at the head of a ſtick. It was obſerved that young lads were much puzzled with ſpelling,

ling, and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their miſtakes in that point. Upon theſe occaſions the maſter would *dip* his *thongs* (as we now do rods) in p——, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *Dipthong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horſe of *Alexander*, was ſo called becauſe there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *buſy* in their office: and, becauſe the horſe had ſo many *buſy fellows* about him, it was natural for thoſe who went to the ſtable to ſay, "Let us go to the *buſy fellows*;" by which they meant to ſee that Prince's horſe. And, in proceſs of time, theſe words were abſurdly applied to the animal itſelf, which was thence-forth ſtyled *Buſy-fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I ſhall now bring a few proofs of the ſame kind, to convince my readers that our *Engliſh* language was well known to the *Jews*.

Moſes, the great leader of thoſe people out of *Egypt*, was in propriety of ſpeech called *Mow-ſeas*, becauſe he *mowed* the *ſeas* down in the middle, to make a path for the *Iſraelites*.

Abraham was a perſon of ſtrong bones and ſinews, and a firm walker, which made the people ſay, He was a man (in the *Scotch* phraſe, which comes neareſt to the old *Saxon*) of *a bra ham*; that is, of a brave ſtrong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the *Jews* called *Balam* was a ſhepherd; who, by often crying *Ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Iſaac is nothing elſe but *Eyes ake*; becauſe the *Talmudiſts* report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide *Ben-gorion* and the *Targum* on *Geneſis*.

Thus I have manifeſtly proved, that the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Jews*, ſpoke the language we now do in *England*; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to ſet in a true light, and yet hath not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And

And thus I ventured (perhaps too temeariouſly) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from whoſe candour, if I may hope to receive ſome approbation, it may probably give me encouragement to proceed on ſome other ſpeculations, if poſſible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of conſtant watchings, that I might be uſeful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

A TREA-

A

TREATISE

ON

GOOD-MANNERS,

AND

GOOD-BREEDING.

GOOD-MANNERS is the art of making thoſe people eaſy with whom we converſe.

Whoever makes the feweſt perſons uneaſy, is the beſt bred in the company.

As the beſt law is founded upon reaſon, ſo are the beſt manners. And as ſome lawyers have introduced unreaſonable things into common law; ſo likewiſe many teachers have introduced abſurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is to ſuit our behaviour to the three ſeveral degrees of men; our ſuperiors, our equals, and thoſe below us.

For inſtance, to preſs either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a tradeſman or a farmer muſt be thus treated, or elſe it will be difficult to perſuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of ſenſe, are the three great ſources of ill-manners; without ſome one of theſe defects, no man will behave himſelf ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy any one to aſſign an incident wherein reaſon will not direct us what we are to ſay or do in company, if we are not miſled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore

Therefore I inſiſt that good-ſenſe is the principal foundation of good-manners: But becauſe the former is a gift which very few among mankind are poſſeſſed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing ſome rules for common behaviour, beſt ſuited to their general cuſtoms, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good-ſenſe to ſupply the defects of reaſon. Without which, the *gentlemenly* part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they ſeldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in ſquabbles about women, or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of thoſe three motives. Upon which account I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry to find the legiſlature make any new laws againſt the practice of duelling; becauſe the methods are eaſy, and many, for a wiſe man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can diſcover no political evil in ſuffering bullies, ſharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of thoſe who have weak underſtandings; ſo they have been corrupted by the perſons for whoſe uſe they were contrived. For theſe people have fallen into a needleſs and endleſs way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troubleſome to thoſe who practiſe them, and inſupportable to every body elſe: inſomuch, that wiſe men are often more uneaſy at the over-civility of theſe refiners, than they could poſſibly be in the converſations of peaſants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better ſeen than at thoſe tables where ladies preſide; who value themſelves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man muſt reckon upon paſſing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to; unleſs he will be ſo hardy as to break through all the ſettled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth beſt, and how much he ſhall eat; and *if the* maſter of the houſe happeneth to be of the ſame *diſpoſition, he* proceedeth in the ſame tyrannical man-

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ner to prescribe in the drinking part: At the same time you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days against his will at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember from the moment he came into the house, to the moment he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a Dutchess fairly knocked down by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was utterly disconsolate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress and brocade; while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next to her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason I look upon fidlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters

of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than *Lipſius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With theſe kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully ſtocked: I mean from the gentleman-uſher (at leaſt) inclusive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt inſignificant race of people that this iſland can afford, and with the ſmalleſt tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they profeſs. For being wholly illiterate, and converſing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole ſyſtem of breeding within the forms and circles of their ſeveral offices: and as they are below the notice of miniſters, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obſequiouſneſs to thoſe who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeneſs and inſolence to every body elſe. From whence I have long concluded, that good manners are not a plant of the court-growth: for if they were, thoſe people who have underſtandings directly of a level for ſuch acquirements, and who have ſerved ſuch long apprenticeſhips to nothing elſe, would certainly have picked them up. For as to the great officers who attend the Prince's perſon or councils, or preſide in his family, they are a tranſient body, who have no better a title to good-manners, than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourſe to gentlemen-uſhers for inſtruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumſtance of dreſs; wherein the authority of the maids of honour muſt indeed be allowed to be almoſt equal to that of a favourite actreſs.

I remember a paſſage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the Queen, the Prince ſaid he was much concerned that he could not ſee her Majeſty that night; for Monſieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had aſſured his Highneſs that he could not be admitted into her preſence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My Lord turned the matter to a jeſt, and brought the Prince to her Majeſty; for which he was highly cenſured by the whole tribe

of

of gentlemen-ushers; among whom Monsieur *Hoffman*, an old dull resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best lesson he had learned in five and twenty years residence.

I make a difference between good-manners and good-breeding; although, in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering, and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good-breeding is of a much larger extent; for besides an uncommon degree of literature sufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horse, and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings without study and labour: whereas a tolerable degree of reason will instruct us in every part of good-manners without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject, than to point out some particulars wherein the very essentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which doth very much disturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneasiness in most companies.

First, A necessary part of good-manners is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, business, or diversion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest minister * I ever knew, was the greatest trespasser against it; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambassador, and secreta-

* Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer to Queen Anne.

ry of ſtate, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good ſucceſs and applauſe by the mere force of exactneſs and regularity. If you duly obſerve time for the ſervice of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifeſt folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own diſadvantage, it is pride and injuſtice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be ſtiled ill-manners; becauſe forms are ſubject to frequent changes; and conſequently, being not founded upon reaſon, are beneath a wiſe man's regard. Beſides, they vary in every country; and after a ſhort period of time very frequently in the ſame: So that a man, who travelleth, muſt needs be at firſt a ſtranger to them in every court through which he paſſeth; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a ſtranger in his own; and, after all, they are eaſier to be remembered or forgotten than faces, or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that ſuperficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the reſt; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore zealous upon all occaſions to introduce and propagate the new forms and faſhions they have brought back with them: So that, uſually ſpeaking, the worſt-bred perſon in the company is a young traveller juſt returned from abroad.

A LET-

A

LETTER

TO THE

WRITER of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your Papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead ſeaſon of the year, into accounts of domeſtic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correſpondents, ſhould not underſtand your meaning ſo literally, as if you intended to reject inſerting any other paper, which might probably be uſeful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced that this new courſe you reſolve to take, will render you more ſecure than your former laudable practice, of inſerting ſuch ſpeculations as were ſent you by ſeveral well-wiſhers to the good of the kingdom; however grating ſuch notices might be to ſome, who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them at your coſt. For, ſince there is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen that the *Dey* of *Algiers* had got the tooth-ach, or the King of *Bantam* had taken a purge, and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding packets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice, ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us will be more general

and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries, who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and *Billingſgate*. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at) ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity; but I wiſh you would inquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary, whoſe abilities they moſt have reaſon to apprehend, and to load himſelf, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual converſation in *Bridewell*, *Newgate*, and the ſtews could furniſh them; but, at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor, whoſe idea preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But,

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the *Oſtend* company to be demoliſhed; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* left entire in our poſſeſſion; the balance of *Europe* to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I aſk, whether any of theſe effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by thoſe into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſsly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged by the talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that, among the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there hath not yet ariſen one whoſe labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaze, and ſour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the heart, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert, that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius ſtrikes them, when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good husbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments of twenty and ſixty guineas at a time for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, hath kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full of malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle hath been recalled of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought which did not ſquare to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk what ſatisfaction can their

their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt courſe of unlimited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleaſes, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes, (becauſe I always thought the lion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrels, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons, in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? Here only, at the ſign of the *Brazen Head*, are to be ſold places and penſions: Beware of counterfeits, and take care of miſtaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fulneſs of his power, becauſe it is a thing that naturally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qualities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: If it be rapacious, inſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the public with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to anſwer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their conſe-

quences

quences by the community: As the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: So, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the public is proportionably poor; as, in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt when his Lord is running out.

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A LET-

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LETTER

TO

A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT

IN *IRELAND*,

Upon the chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon it at a venture. It looks exceeding ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your Houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: *Firſt*, To have an ill cauſe; and, *ſecondly*, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion: Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cauſe are negligent and ſupine. They think it ſufficient to declare themſelves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, ſailing againſt the tide of favour and preferment, they are eaſily ſcattered and driven back. In ſhort, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to ſpirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conſcience, or proſpect of ſerving the public, will not go very

very far under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind. This was amply verified laſt ſeſſions of parliament, upon occaſion of the money bill, the merits of which I ſhall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the firſt news of its tranſmiſſion hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon diſcourſe with their friends, ſeemed unanimous againſt it, I mean thoſe of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as perſons ready to go any lengths preſcribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvaſſing among a very few hands, the bill paſt, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt perſuading me, or any body elſe, that one man in ten, of thoſe who changed their language, were moved by reaſons any way affecting the merits of the cauſe, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been aſſured from good hands, that there was ſtill a number ſufficient to make a majority againſt the bill, if they had not apprehended the other ſide to be ſecure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral Houſes of Commons ſince the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a Chief Governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me. For, if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late Speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner) have immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give is the worſt in the *world*: That none offered themſelves, and you knew *not whom* to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other

ther party was more reſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: For you ſay your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to inquire who is the perſon for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either, and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But, in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I deſire you will give me leave to reaſon with you a little upon the ſubject, leſt your compliance, or inadvertency, ſhould put you upon what you may have cauſe to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great buſineſs of the high-flying Whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the Teſt-clauſe. You know likewiſe that the moderate men, both of High and Low-church, profeſs to be wholly averſe from this deſign, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that ſhelters from the north. Now, I will put the caſe: If the perſon to whom you have promiſed your vote be one of whom you have the leaſt apprehenſion that he will promote or aſſent to the repealing of that clauſe, whether it be decent or proper he ſhould be the mouth of an aſſembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? Can a body, whoſe mouth and heart muſt go ſo contrary-ways, ever act with ſincerity, or hardly with conſiſtence? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the ſenſe of the Houſe, which, in ſo many points of the greateſt moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as abſurd, as to prefer a man to a biſhopric who denies revealed religion. But it may poſſibly be a great deal worſe. What if the perſon your deſign to vote into that important poſt, ſhould not only be a declared enemy of the Sacramental Teſt, but ſhould prove to be a ſollicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addreſſes to complain of it? Do you think it ſo indif-

ferent a thing, that a promiſe of courſe, the effect of compliance, importunity, ſhame of refuſing, or any the like motive, ſhall oblige you paſt the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as ſome have already had the weakneſs, that it is of little importance to either party to have a ſpeaker of their ſide, his buſineſs being only to take the ſenſe of the Houſe and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able ſpeaker into the chair on purpoſe to prevent him from ſtopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I ſhould hardly chuſe, even among my footmen, ſuch a one to deliver a meſſage, whoſe intereſt and opinion led him to wiſh it might miſcarry. But I remember to have heard Colonel *Birch* of *Herefordſhire* ſay, that he was a very ſorry ſpeaker, whoſe ſingle vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am ſure it is reckoned in *England* the firſt great teſt of the prevalency of either party in the Houſe. Sir *Thomas Lyttleton* thought, that a Houſe of Commons with a ſtinking breath (ſuppoſing the Speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the ſmalleſt part of an able Speaker's buſineſs, what he performs in the Houſe, at leaſt if he be in with the court, when it is hard to ſay how many converts may be made in a circle of dinner or private cabals. And you and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman in that ſtation, in *England*, who, by his own arts and perſonal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing ſide in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party cauſes, but ſurely the beſt of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who have not been ſo nice in matters of much leſs importance. Yet I have heard ſome perſons of both ſides gravely deliver themſelves in this manner, Why ſhould we make the chuſing a ſpeaker a party-cauſe? Let us fix upon one who is well verſed in the practices and methods of parliament. *And* I believe there are too many who would talk at the

the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about aboliſhing the Sacramental Teſt, but the ſacrament itſelf.

But ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful Speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obſtruct any point in parliament, who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Diſſenters and their high flying advocates, what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? That is encouragement enough to practiſe the city, againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the Queen for repealing the Sacramental Teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt Epiſcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new Speaker ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame, or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the Speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chuſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter in a high ſtation, on the bench or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable to fill the chair with ſome perſon who would be entirely devoted to neither party: But, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe for a leader to their adverſaries, a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which adviſed ſome city in *Greece* to beg a General from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; but

ſo much I remember, that his conduct was ſuch, as they ſoon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily reſolved againſt repealing the Sacramental Teſt, yet, at the ſame time, give the only great employment you have to diſpoſe of, to a perſon who will take that teſt againſt ſtomach, (by which word I underſtand many a man's conſcience) who earneſtly wiſheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmoſt of his power; ſo that the firſt action after you meet, will be a ſort of contravention to that Teſt: And will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this ſubject, I cannot conclude without ſaying ſomething to a very popular argument againſt that Sacramental Teſt, which may be apt to ſhake many of thoſe who would otherwiſe wiſh well enough to it. They ſay it was a new hardſhip put upon the Diſſenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way neceſſary, becauſe we had peaceably lived together ſo long without it. They add ſome other circumſtances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the perſon by whom it was inſerted. Surely ſuch people do not conſider that the penal laws againſt Diſſenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, ſo that all employments of the ſtate lay as open to them as they did to the beſt and moſt legal ſubjects. And what progreſs they would have made by the advantages of a late conjuncture, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full anſwer to that objection.

I remember, upon the tranſmiſſion of that bill with the Teſt-clauſe inſerted, the Diſſenters and their partizans, among other topics, ſpoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government: That the Preſbyterians were grown very inconſiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new ſeverities. When the act was paſſed, they preſently changed their ſtyle, and raiſed a clamour, through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of conſiderable gentry who were laid aſide, and could no longer ſerve their Queen and country: Which hyperbo-

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lical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteeen country-juſtices, moſt of them of the loweſt ſize, for eſtate, quality, or underſtanding. However, this puts me in mind of a paſſage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded. That a complaint was made to the King and Council of *Sweden*, of a prodigious ſwarm of *Scots*, who, under the condition of peulars, infeſted that kingdom to ſuch a degree, as, if not ſuddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the ſtate, by joining with any diſcontented party. Meanwhile the *Scots*, by their agents, placed a good ſum of money to engage the offices of the prime Miniſter in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the Council, He was aſſured they were but a few inconſiderable people, that lived honeſtly and poorly, and were not of any conſequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thouſand. The affair was again brought before the Council, and great reproaches made the firſt miniſter, for his ill computation; who, preſently taking the other handle, ſaid, he had reaſon to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the King's conſideration, whether it were ſafe to render deſperate ſo great a body of able men, who had little to loſe, and whom any hard treatment would only ſerve to unite into a power capable of diſturbing, if not deſtroying the peace of the kingdom. And ſo they were ſuffered to continue.

A

LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE

TO

DOCTOR *SWIFT*.

REVEREND SIR, *Dawſon-Street, April* 4, 1728.

BY a ſtrange fatality, though you were the only perſon in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the ſecret of it: The ignorant poor man, who was entruſted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the ſecret from all others, yet, from the nature of the ſubject, he concluded that I could have no intereſt in concealing it from you, who were ſo univerſally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of *Ireland*. But, though the accident gave me ſome uneaſineſs at firſt; yet, when I conſider your character, I cannot doubt (however ſlender the foundation of ſuch a hope may be from any merits of my own) but your generoſity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I ſhall not preſume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original, and progreſs of the parliamentary accuſations and votes againſt me; although, would you do me the honour to inquire, I could eaſily convince you from my own particular caſe, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: One which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the ſubject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may ſay ſo) in the ſubject, and deſcribes *it what it really* is, without regard either to friends *or enemies*.

All I ſhall beg of you, is to ſuſpend your judgment upon it, ſince all parties allow that although I had ſeveral ſummons from the Committee for *Monday*, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their ſummons, yet I was tied down by the Committee the preceeding *Saturday*, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithſtanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may ſay without injury to Mr *Bingham:* For ſure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magiſtrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-Juſtice who takes examinations againſt him: Examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent alſo.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to ſay, I went from *Ireland* loaded with the ſevereſt cenſures of the Houſe of Commons: Injured, as I thought, and oppreſſed to the greateſt degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itſelf; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering intereſt.

I ſought, in *England*, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: My countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is ſociable: I was forced to herd with ſtrangers. A Prime Miniſter, engaged in the ſucceſs of a ſcheme, wants no emiſſaries to ſpy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately ſet by thoſe ſort of creatures: My ſentiments on the ſtate of our money-matters were induſtriouſly ſifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was ſerved with his Majeſty's ſummons: In a hurry I ran out of town, and ſtaid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another ſummons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the diſmal effects of power at home from riſking a ſecond ſhipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the *Cockpit*.

It is true my appearance at the *Cockpit*, to thoſe who knew me only by the votes of the Houſe of Commons, muſt have looked like a deſign of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worſt colour. But, to take the matter impartially,

Sir,

Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the diſmal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehenſions of ſecond dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all theſe fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated ſummons of the Council of *England*, in which his Majeſty was preſent, and if he was there, after a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition, forced to tell his ſentiments? Forced, Sir, to tell his ſentiments, not in the manner repreſented to the world, but in a manner the moſt cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppoſe the inclinations of our parliament.

But, alas, the conſequence! You, Sir, the defender of *Ireland*, were ſoon engaged againſt me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an inſtant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I bleſſed it: The cauſe which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the laſt thing which one would ſacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleaſure, whilſt you thought it neceſſary for the public good ſo to do: But now the end is ſerved, Dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato being told that certain perſons aſperſed his character, and repreſented him abroad as a very ill man; inſtead of expoſtulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himſelf, ſaying, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of* Plato *ſhall give his accuſers the lie.*

Could I ſet before me a greater example? Under the general diſpleaſure of my country, under all the cenſures which the reſtleſs malice of my enemies could deviſe, and under the keen edge of the *Drapier*'s wit; the only revenge I indulged myſelf, was by a ſteady love for my country, and by manifeſt acts of affection thereto, to be a ſilent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppreſs me They have *already* gained their cauſe by you: But I muſt ſay, it *was not the* ſword of *Ajax*, but the armour of *Achilles which he put on*, that won the day.

The

The cauſe for which you undertook my ruin, was the cauſe of my country: It was a good cauſe, and you ſhall ever find me of that ſide. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works ſubſiſt, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, muſt I be branded as a villain. It is a hard ſentence; and yet unleſs the ſpear of *Achilles*, the ſame inſtrument which gave the wound, adminiſter the remedy, it muſt be ſo.

In ſhort, Sir, you muſt be a man of honour: It is not poſſible that honour ſhould be wanting where all the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a ſecret which accident has given you a part of, and I am ſure you will keep it.

The ſource of all my misfortunes was the vote of the Houſe of Commons; but I have laboured however, as I always ſhall, to ſerve my country and make myſelf agreeable to them: And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private converſation of my countrymen, which is the ſureſt and beſt way to know our true intereſt; yet I flatter myſelf that my little Eſſays may be uſeful, at leaſt they may be no bad beginning: And you know it is eaſy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it uſeleſs to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's miſtake made me determine this private application to: And I muſt ſay, that I ſhall reckon it no ſmall degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time I ſhall beg the favour of you, to keep a ſecret which no other perſon but my printer, my bookſeller, and the bearer knows. I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A LET-

A LETTER ON

Mr M'Culla's Project about Halfpence, and a new one propoſed.

Written in M,DCC,XXIX.

SIR,

YOU deſire to know my opinion concerning Mr *M'Culla*'s project, of circulating notes ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of halfpence and pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: But I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public-good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt Miniſter of State down to a corn-cutter. But, I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man; becauſe it is too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſeth any ſcheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former, ſince the crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here as they *do in England*. One thing in Mr *M'Culla*'s book is certainly

certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold and silver) as well as upon paper. The question is, whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal, nor witnesses to prove it. To supply this, he hath proposed, that the materials upon which his note is written, shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His scheme is this,

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stampt with a promissory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you shall return them. Eight and forty of these halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for two shillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to say, two pence in every shilling.

This will certainly arise to a great sum, if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require: Enough indeed to make any *Irish* tradesman's fortune; which, however, I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr *M'Culla* would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord *Dartmouth* and Colonel *Moor* were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. *First*, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best *English* halfpence made by the crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to support. And, *lastly*, that his copper, as is already said, being equal in value and bulk to the *English* halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination,

bination, proceeding from ſpite and envy, might be formed againſt him.

But there are ſome points in his propoſal which I cannot well anſwer for, nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himſelf. The *firſt* is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the *Engliſh* halfpence and farthings? And, *ſecondly*, whether he will always continue to give us as good? And, *thirdly*, when he will think fit to ſtop his hand, and give us no more? For I ſhould be as ſorry to be at the mercy of Mr *M'Culla*, as of Mr *Wood*.

There is another difficulty of the laſt importance. It is known enough that the crown is ſuppoſed to be neither gainer nor loſer by the coinage of any metal: For they ſubtract, or ought to ſubtract no more from the intrinſic value than what will juſt pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the queſtion. By what I could gather from Mr *M'Culla*, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he ſells his copper notes for two ſhillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper muſt be ſix pence, which is 30 *per cent*. The world ſhould be particularly ſatisfied on this article, before he vends his notes: For the diſcount of 30 *per cent*. is prodigious, and vaſtly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent*. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a diſcount of about 46 *per cent*. Or, to reckon I think a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr *M'Culla*'s coin, at two ſhillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loſer of 41 *l*. 13 *s*. 4 *d*. *per cent*. But, however, this high diſcount of 30 *per cent*. will be no objection againſt *M'Culla*'s propoſal; becauſe, if the charge of coinage will honeſtly amount to ſo much, and we ſuppoſe his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater ſufferer of the two; becauſe the buyer can loſe but four pence in a pound, and *M'Culla* muſt loſe ſix pence, which was *the charge* of the coinage.

Upon

Upon the whole, there are ſome points which muſt be ſettled to the general ſatisfaction, before we can ſafely take Mr *M'Culla*'s copper notes for value received; and how he will give that ſatisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The *firſt* point is, That we ſhall be always ſure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineneſs to the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence.

The *ſecond* point is, To know what allowance he makes to himſelf, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is eaſy by his own ſcheme: For, as I have ſaid before, he propoſes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two ſhillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: So that, ſuppoſing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already obſerved, beſides 16 *per cent.* when he ſells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debaſe the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr *M'Culla*'s promiſſory notes will, to the intrinſic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* diſcount.

For, ſubtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which added to

	41	13	4
	5	10	0
will be *per cent.*	47	3	4

That we are under great diſtreſs for change, and that Mr *M'Culla*'s copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, is leſs liable to objection than the project of *Wood*, may be granted; but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr *M'Culla*, and obſerved as follows:

Firſt, I weighed Mr *M'Culla*'s halfpenny againſt an *Engliſh* one of King *Charles* II. which outweighed Mr *M'Culla*'s a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewiſe weighed an *Iriſh Patrick* and *David* halfpenny, which outweighed Mr *M'Culla*'s 12½ *per cent.* It had a very fair and deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkilfully round.

I found that even a common Harp halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr *M'Culla*'s. And even ſome of *Wood*'s halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think *Wood*'s copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digeſting them better. I am no enemy to Mr *M'Culla*'s project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King *Charles* II. which I weighed againſt Mr *M'Culla*'s, was of the faireſt kind I had ſeen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loſer. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honeſt than they have ſince thought fit to be; for I confeſs not to have met thoſe of any other year ſo weighty, or in appearance of ſo good metal, among all the copper coins of the three laſt reigns; yet theſe, however, did much outweigh thoſe of Mr *M'Culla*; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed ſeen accidentally one or two very light, but it muſt certainly have been done by chance, or rather, I ſuppoſe them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at preſent. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me, that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which I obſerve he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.* And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to ſay the truth, the dearneſs or cheapneſs of the metal do not properly enter into the queſtion. What we deſire is, that it ſhould be of the beſt kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver ſhould be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, *if poſſible*, from 30 to 10, or 15 at moſt.

Mr

Mr *M'Culla* muſt alſo give good ſecurity that he will coin only a determinate ſum, not exceeding twenty thouſand pounds; by which, although he ſhould deal with all uprightneſs imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King *Charles* II; he will at 16 *per cent.* gain three thouſand two hundred pounds: A very good additional job to a private tradeſman's fortune.

I muſt adviſe him alſo to employ better workmen, and make his impreſſions deeper and plainer, by which a riſing rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preſerve the letter from wearing out too ſoon. He hath no wardens nor maſters, or other officers of the mint to ſuck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and ſkilful workmen.

Whether this project will ſucceed in Mr *M'Culla*'s hands, (which, if it be honeſtly executed, I ſhould be glad to ſee;) one thing I am confident of, that it might be eaſily brought to perfection, by a ſociety of nine or ten honeſt gentlemen of fortune, who wiſh well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor loſers, further than the bare intereſt of their money. And Mr *M'Culla*, as being the firſt ſtarter of the ſcheme, might be conſidered and rewarded by ſuch a ſociety; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I ſhould think it an honour and happineſs to be one, even with borrowed money upon the beſt ſecurity I could give. And, firſt, I am confident, without any ſkill but by general reaſon, that the charge of coining copper would be very much leſs than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thouſand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and moſt *unneceſſary diſtreſs* for the want of ſilver; and that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the ſum would ſuffice.

For I compute and reaſon thus: The city of *Dublin*, by a groſs computation, contains ten thouſand families; and, I am told by ſhopkeepers, that, if ſilver were as plenty as uſual, two ſhillings in copper would be ſufficient, in the courſe of buſineſs, for each family; but, in conſideration of the want of ſilver, I would

allow five ſhillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500 *l.*; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp halfpence, which are left of Lord *Dartmouth*'s and *Moor*'s patents, under King *Charles* II.; and the ſmall *Patrick* and *David* for farthings. To the reſt of the kingdom I would aſſign the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning *Dublin* to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as *London* is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of *England*; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at leaſt are beggars, in all circumſtances except that of wandering about for alms; and that circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of *Ireland*, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply. For, if we give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villainy of *Wood*, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in copper, for the uſe of *Ireland*; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although *Wood* might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: Suppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200 *l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with *ſeven per cent.* for their own uſe: That they ſhould as

ſoon

ſoon as poſſible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000 *l.* each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of King *Charles* II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for ſeven or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme hath anſwered to their own intention as well as to the ſatisfaction of the public; and, if they find 7 *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go: And, when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen; unleſs the real, univerſal, unſollicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves, one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt, It is plain, that, inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr *M'Culla*, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr *M'Culla* charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at ten.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr *M'Culla* can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one in ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that theirs ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr *M'Culla*'s halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King *Charles* II. theſe gentlemen will oblige themſelves to the public, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the public, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence that have been coined in the three laſt reigns, which very much outweigh thoſe of Mr *M'Culla*. And this advantage will ariſe in proportion, by leſſening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at moſt. But I confeſs myſelf in the dark on that article; only I think it impoſſible it ſhould amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwiſe the coiners of thoſe counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in ſuch a ſociety would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* inſtead of 16, the being ſure of the goodneſs and juſt weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply the wants and deſires of the kingdom: And all this under the ſecurity of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the beſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction, that they had no deſign to turn the ſcheme into a job.

As to any miſtakes I have made in computation, *they are of* little moment; and I ſhall not deſcend ſo *low as to* juſtify them againſt any caviller.

The

The ſtrongeſt objection againſt what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear viſionary, is the difficulty to find half a ſcore gentlemen, who, out of a public ſpirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, to be overſeers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr *M'Culla* himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town, if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconveniency: That knaviſh men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while thoſe who are honeſt and beſt intentioned, may be the inſtruments of as much miſchief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which I doubt will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200 *l.* beſides 20 *l. per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that this making in all 300 *l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000 *l.*

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, ſuch as I have already deſcribed, (if ſuch are to be found,) are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal intereſt for the money

they

they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: And do likewiſe bind themſelves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make ſo as not to be diſcovered: For it is plain that thoſe bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr *M'Culla*'s copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr *M'Culla* charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. -	6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight - - -	5760 grains.

Mr *M'Culla*'s copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr *M'Culla*'s penny-notes, one with another, weigh - - - -	524 grains.
By which computation, 2 *s.* of his notes, which he ſells for 1 lb. weight, will weigh - - - - -	6288 grains.
But 1 *lb.* Avoirdupois weighs, as above,	6960 grains.

This

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr *M'Culla*'s profit, in point of weight.

The old *Patrick* and *David* halfpenny weighs	149 grains.
Mr *M'Culla*'s halfpenny weighs	131 grains.
The difference is	18

Which is equal to 10. 1 half *per cent.*

The *English* halfpenny of King *Charles* II. weighs	167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs	131 grains.
The difference	36

Which difference allowed a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another Computation.

Mr *M'Culla* allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two ſhillings.

His coinage he computes at ſix pence *per* pound weight; therefore, by laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.*

profit	20
The ſix-pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.*	30
The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.*	10
By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loſes *per cent.*	60

If Mr *M'Culla*'s coins will not paſs, and he refuſes to receive them back, the owner cannot ſell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound weight; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will loſe 60 *per cent.*

The ſcheme of the ſociety, raiſed as high as it can poſſibly be, will be only thus:

For intereſt of their money, *per cent.*	8
For coinage, inſtead of 10, ſuppoſe, at moſt *per cent.*	20

For

For 300 *l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and houſe-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000 *l.* - - - - 3

Charges in all upon intereſt, coinage, *&c. per cent.* - - - - 31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and laſtly, their paying in gold or ſilver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not in this ſcheme recommend the method of promiſſory notes after Mr *M'Culla*'s manner; but, as I have ſeen in old *Iriſh* coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one ſide, with the year of our Lord, and the *Iriſh* Harp, on the reverſe.

A LET-

A

LETTER

TO THE

ARCHBISHOP OF *DUBLIN*, concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have ſo often attended your Grace, and called upon me with their ſchemes and propoſals, were with me on *Thurſday* laſt; when he who ſpoke for the reſt, and in the name of his abſent brethren, ſaid, It was the opinion of the whole body, that if ſomewhat were written at this time by an able hand, to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good uſe to the nation in general, and preſerve many hundreds of their trade from ſtarving. To which I anſwered, That it was hard for any man of common ſpirit to turn his thoughts to ſuch ſpeculations, without diſcovering a reſentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot reflect on the ſingular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without ſome emotion, and without often examining, as I paſs the ſtreets, whether thoſe animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the ſame ſpecies with what I have ſeen very like them in *England*, as to the outward ſhape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a foreſt; which any man of common prudence would immediately diſcover, by perſuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reaſon, loyalty, or religion.

One

One thing, my Lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our ſins, would moſt juſtly ſend us a peſtilence, whoever ſhould dare to diſcover his grief in public for ſuch a viſitation, would certainly be cenſured for diſaffection to the government. For I ſolemnly profeſs, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone theſe many years, whereof any man, whoſe opinions were not in faſhion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, becauſe although a mother, when ſhe hath corrected her child, may ſometimes force it to kiſs the rod, yet ſhe will never give that power to the foot-boy or the ſcullion.

My Lord, There are two things for the people of this kingdom to conſider: *Firſt*, Their preſent evil condition; and, *ſecondly*, What can be done in ſome degree to remedy it.

I ſhall not enter into a particular deſcription of our preſent miſery: It hath been already done in ſeveral papers, and very fully in one intituled *A ſhort View of the State of* Ireland. It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmoſt rigor, the remiſſion of a million every year to *England*, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppreſſion of landlords, and diſcouragement of agriculture.

Now all thoſe evils are without the poſſibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence againſt ruinous folly will be always in our power, in ſpite of the diſcouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppreſſion we labour under: But our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be ſoftened, our abſentees never return, our endleſs foreign payments never be leſſened, our own landlords never be leſs exacting.

All other ſchemes for preſerving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and viſionary, conſequently drawn from wrong reaſoning, and from general topics, which, for the ſame cauſes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly falſe in ours; as I have told the *public often* enough, but with a little effect as what I *ſhall ſay* at preſent is likely to produce.

I am

I am weary of ſo many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of ſo many crude propoſals, in letters ſent me from unknown hands; of ſo many contradictory ſpeculations, about raiſing or ſinking the value of gold and ſilver: I am not in the leaſt ſorry to hear of the great numbers going to *America*, although very much for the cauſes that drive them from us, ſince the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches "of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumſtances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to ſupport them.

If a private gentleman's income be ſunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and that he hath no other method to ſupply the deficiency, I deſire to know, my Lord, whether ſuch a perſon hath any other courſe to take, than to ſink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to ſave himſelf from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the caſe of *Ireland*, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more tho' well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually ſinking us for above a dozen years paſt, to a degree that we are at leaſt by two thirds in a worſe condition than was ever known ſince the Revolution. Therefore, inſtead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out ſome expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed ſo neceſſary in all private families, and in its own nature ſo eaſy to be put in practice, may meet with ſtrong oppoſition by the cowardly ſlaviſh indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, ſtrictly adhering to the rules of modern education, ſeem to employ their whole ſtock of invention in contriving new arts of profuſion faſter than the moſt parſimonious huſband can afford: And to compaſs this work the more effectually, their univerſal maxim is to deſpiſe and deteſt every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and moſt to value whatever comes from the very remoteſt parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuoſi could once

find out a world in the moon, with a paſſage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime coſt of wine yearly imported to *Ireland* is valued at 30,000 *l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that ſum. The lace, ſilks, callicoes, and all other unneceſſary ornaments for women, including *Engliſh* cloths and ſtuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute groſsly) about 400,000 *l.*

Now, if we ſhould allow the 30,000 *l.* wherein the women have their ſhare, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000 *l.* more for over-reaching, there would ſtill remain 300,000 *l.* annually ſpent, for unwholeſome drugs and unneceſſary finery. Which prodigious ſum would be wholly ſaved, and many thouſands of our miſerable ſhop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably ſupported.

Let ſpeculative people buſy their brains as much as they pleaſe, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from ſinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dreſs and luxury.

It is abſolutely ſo in fact, that every huſband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nouriſhing a poiſonous devouring ſerpent in his boſom, with all the miſchief, but with none of its wiſdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might ſtill vye with each other in the courſe of foppery, and ſtill have room left to vye with each other, and equally ſhew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of *Iriſh* ſtuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholeſome ſlops for breakfaſt, we ſhould hear no more of their ſpleen, hyſterics, cholics, palpitations, and aſthmas. They might ſtill be allowed to ruin each other, and their huſbands at play, becauſe the money loſt would only circulate among ourſelves.

My Lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the ſottiſhneſs of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the moſt effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common courſe of buying

and

and ſelling the very neceſſaries of life in our markets, unleſs we abſolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and ſilk, who have ſo frequently offered propoſals both to your Grace and to me, are the hotteſt and coldeſt generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your Grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and deſigned me the ſame favour. They deſired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of *Iriſh* ſtuffs, which might probably ſpread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the univerſity, and among the citizens of thoſe corporations who appear in gowns on ſolemn occaſions. I then mentioned a kind of ſtuff, not above eight pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by ſome of the trade, and was very convenient. I deſired they would prepare ſome of that, or any ſort of black ſtuff, on a certain day, when your Grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your Grace's viſitation approaching, you could then have the beſt opportunity of ſeeing what could be done in a matter of ſuch conſequence, as they ſeemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But inſtead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new propoſal, that ſomething ſhould be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I aſked if they had prepared the ſtuffs, as they had promiſed, and your Grace expected; but they had not made the leaſt ſtep in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, ſome years ago, propoſe to the maſters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of ſilk and wool, that they ſhould meet together; and, after mature conſideration, publiſh advertiſements to the following purpoſe.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of *Iriſh* manufactures in ſilk and woollen, they gave notice to the

nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they the under-ſigned, would enter into bonds for themſelves, and for each other, to ſell the ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, cloths, and ſilks, made to the beſt perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in ſuch a manner, that, if a child were ſent to any of their ſhops, the buyer might be ſecure of the value and goodneſs, and meaſure of the ware: And, leſt this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be agreed on. And, if any perſon whatſoever ſhould complain that he was ill uſed in the value and goodneſs of what he bought, the matter ſhould be examined, the perſon injured be fully ſatisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the diſhoneſt ſeller be ſtruck out of the ſociety, unleſs it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from miſtake.

The mortal danger is, that if theſe dealers could prevail, by the goodneſs and cheapneſs of their cloths and ſtuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of *Ireland* in favour of their goods, they would relapſe into the knaviſh practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even ſo low as a common ale-ſeller; who, as ſoon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outſells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worſt he can buy, till his cuſtomers will come no more. Thus I have known at *London*, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black all their old damaged goods, and ſell them at double rates, then complain and petition the court, that they are ready to ſtarve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I ſay, thoſe principal weavers, who would enter into ſuch a compact as I have mentioned, muſt give ſufficient ſecurity againſt all ſuch practices: For, if once the women can perſuade their huſbands that foreign goods, beſides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more ſervice, our laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

I do not here pretend to digeſt perfectly the method by which theſe principal ſhop-keepers ſhall proceed in ſuch

ſuch a propoſal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reaſonably be objected againſt.

We have ſeen what a deſtructive loſs the kingdom received, by the deteſtable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithſtanding all the care of the governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the *Spaniards* for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000 *l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we ſhall practiſe like pedlars, and ſacrifice all honeſty to the preſent urging advantage.

What I have ſaid may ſerve as an anſwer to the deſire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themſelves to the parliament in their next ſeſſion. Let them prevail on the Houſe of Commons to grant one very reaſonable requeſt; and I ſhall think there is ſtill ſome ſpirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpoſe: Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this Houſe will, for the future, wear no cloths but ſuch as are made of *Iriſh* growth, or of *Iriſh* manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: And that they will, to the utmoſt, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants to follow their example. And if, at the ſame time, they could baniſh tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their ſcandal over an infuſion of ſage, or other wholeſome domeſtic vegetables, we might poſſibly be able to ſubſiſt, and pay our abſentees, penſioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, ſtudents, ſchoolboys, ſplenetic viſiters of *Bath*, *Tunbridge*, and *Epſom*, with all other ſmaller drains, by ſending our crude unwrought goods to *England*, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own ſubſiſtence.

I have been, for a dozen years paſt, wiſely prognoſticating the preſent condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common ſenſe, could foretel, with as little ſagacity as myſelf. My meaning is, that

a conſumptive body muſt needs die, which hath ſpent all its ſpirits, and received no nouriſhment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardneſs of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill ſeaſons, which better climates than ours are more expoſed to; or to ſcarcity of ſilver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a ſlight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

A N S W E R

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two * laſt ſummer, directed to *Dublin*, while I was in the country, whither it was ſent me, and I ordered an anſwer to it to be printed; but, it ſeems, it had little effect, and I ſuppoſe this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have cloſed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is too regardleſs of what we write for the public good: That, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any proſpect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by ſubſcribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of ſending it into the world, unleſs we will be at all, or half the expence: And, although we are willing enough to beſtow our labours, we think it unreaſonable to be out of pocket; becauſe it, probably, may not conſiſt with the ſituation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great meaſure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world ſhould not only know your ſentiments, but my anſwer, which I ſhall impartially give.

That great Prelate, in whoſe cover you directed your letter, ſent it to me this morning; and I begin my anſwer

* *Trueman* and *Layfield*.

ſwer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my anſwer; becauſe, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I ſhall therefore now go on to anſwer your letter in all manner of ſincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myſelf to be only an imaginary perſon: For although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never anſwered it otherwiſe than in print; neither was I at a loſs to know the reaſons why ſo many people of this kingdom were tranſporting themſelves to *America*. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of *Penſylvania*, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that thoſe who were tempted, by ſuch a narrative, to ſuch a journey, were fools, and the author a moſt impudent knave; at leaſt, if it be the ſame pamphlet I ſaw when it firſt came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to *William Penn*, (whom by a miſtake, you call Sir *William Penn*) and ſtyling him, by authority of the Scripture, Moſt Noble Governor. For I was very well acquainted with *Penn*, and did, ſome years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who ſpoke ſo many things in praiſe of the ſoil and climate, which *Penn* himſelf did abſolutely contradict. For he did aſſure me, that this country wanted the ſhelter of mountains which left it open to the northern winds from *Hudſon's Bay* and the *Frozen Sea*, which deſtroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, *New-York*, *Virginia*, and other parts leſs northward, or more defended by mountains, are deſcribed as excellent countries; but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to ſeek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is eaſier to be determined. They conceive themſelves to live under the tyranny of moſt cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than increaſing their rent-rolls. *Secondly*, You complain of the want of

of trade, whereof you ſeem not to know the reaſon. *Thirdly*, You lament moſt juſtly the money ſpent by abſentees in *England*. *Fourthly*, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. *Fifthly*, That your tythe-collectors oppreſs you. *Sixthly*, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatſoever. *Seventhly*, You are undone for want of ſilver, and want all other money.

I could eaſily add ſome other motives, which, to men of ſpirit, who deſire and expect, and think they deſerve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as theſe ſpeculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I ſhall chuſe to let them paſs unmentioned. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that my very good and virtuous friend, his Excellency *Burnet (O fili, nec tali indigne parente!)* hath not hitherto been able to perſuade his vaſſals, by his oratory in the ſtyle of a command, to ſettle a revenue on his Vice-Royal Perſon. I have been likewiſe aſſured, that, in one of thoſe colonies on the continent, which nature hath ſo far favoured, as (by the induſtry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the ſtubbornneſs of the people, who having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might ſell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleaſed, and ſeem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion

But, to return to my ſubject: I muſt confeſs to you both, that, if one reaſon of your people's deſerting us, be the deſpair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one ſyllable to anſwer; becauſe that would be to hope for what is impoſſible; and ſo I have been telling the public theſe ten years. For, there are three events which muſt precede any ſuch bleſſing: *Firſt*, A liberty of trade; *Secondly*, A ſhare of preferments in all kinds, equal to the *Britiſh* natives; and, *Thirdly*, A return of thoſe abſentees, who take away almoſt one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the *firſt* and *ſecond*, there is nothing left us but deſpair;

and

and, for the *third*, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to ſend them, for which, in my own particular, I ſhould not be ſorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years ſtanding. But, as to what you object about the ſevere clauſes relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other ſide: For the landlords, either by their ignorance or greedineſs of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter ſo ill, as we ſee by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants, but beggary and deſolation; the cabbins of the *Scotch* themſelves, in *Ulſter*, being as dirty and miſerable as thoſe of the wildeſt *Iriſh*. Whereas good firm penal clauſes for improvement, with a tolerable eaſy rent and a reaſonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have increaſed the rents of *Ireland* at leaſt a third part in the intrinſic value.

I am glad to hear you ſpeak with ſome decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely miſtake the fact: For I defy the moſt wicked and moſt powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppreſs the meaneſt farmer in the pariſh; and I defy the ſame clergyman to prevent himſelf from being cheated by the ſame farmer, whenever that farmer ſhall be diſpoſed to be knaviſh or peeviſh. For, although the *Ulſter* tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the miniſter can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the ſmall tythes, as, except in ſome diſtricts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every ſtubborn farmer, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſect as well as intereſt incline them to oppoſition. However, I take it that your people, bent for *America*, do not ſhew the beſt part of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: Yet they are ſo far wiſe as not to make the payment of tythes a ſcruple of conſcience, which is too groſs for any Proteſtant diſſenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed

deed think, that, if tythes were aboliſhed, or delivered into the hands of the landlord, after the bleſſed manner in the *Scotch* ſpiritual oeconomy, that the tenant would ſit eaſier in his rent under the ſame perſon, who muſt be lord of the ſoil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppreſſion of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its neceſſary conſequence the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom ſpent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the ſtrong deluſion in your people by falſe allurement from *America*, may be the chief motives of their eagerneſs after ſuch an expedition. But there is likewiſe another temptation, which is not of inconſiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their ſect is predominant, and where their eyes and conſciences will not be offended by the ſtumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and ſpiritual titles.

But I was ſurpriſed to find that thoſe calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been ſufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reaſon to complain of oppreſſive landlords. For, while I was laſt year in the northern parts, a perſon of quality, whoſe eſtate was let above twenty years ago, and then at a very reaſonable rent, ſome for leaſes of lives, and ſome perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchaſe eleven of theſe leaſes at a very inconſiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifeſt that our preſent miſerable condition, and the diſmal proſpect of worſe, with other reaſons above aſſigned, are ſufficient to put men upon trying this deſperate experiment of changing the ſcene they are in, although landlords ſhould, by a miracle, become leſs inhuman.

There is hardly a ſcheme propoſed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifeſtly ſhew the ſtupidity and ignorance of the propoſer: And I laugh with contempt at thoſe weak wiſe heads who proceed upon general maxims, or adviſe us to follow the examples of *Holland* and *England*. Theſe empirics talk by rote, without underſtanding the conſtitution of the kingdom; as if a phyſician, knowing that exerciſe

exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a fit of the gout. to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for *Ireland* are very short and plain, To encourage agriculture and home-consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessaries, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry? Are those detestable extravagancies of *Flanders*-lace, *English*-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, *Italian* or *Indian* silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, *China*-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies, better known to others than me: Are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons, as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride and wantonness of their wives; who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose whole study seems directly to be as expensive as they possibly can, in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive; as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon *Indian* poisons, and spend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauseous, unwholesome living carcase? Let those few, who are not concerned in any part of this accusation, suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted.

If I am possessed of an hundred pounds a year, and, by some misfortune it sinks to fifty, without a possibility of ever being retrieved: Does it remain a question, in such an exigency, what I am to do? Must not I retrench

trench one half in every article of expence? Or, retire to ſome cheap, diſtant part of the country, where neceſſaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can ſhew me, under the circumſtances we ſtand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the deſolation cauſed by abſentees, under many other circumſtances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or ſubſiſt by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmoſt parſimony, in the manner I have already preſcribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreaſonable well-meaning people, who are daily preſſing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have ſo often done in vain. What will it import, that half a ſcore people, in a coffee-houſe, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of thoſe few, differ in every ſentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to ſow his corn, if half the little money among us be ſent to pay rents to *Iriſh* abſentees, and the reſt for foreign luxury, and dreſs for the women, what will our charitable diſpoſitions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? When, contrary to all cuſtom and example, all neceſſaries of life are ſo exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be ſo ſcarce? So that gentlemen of no contemptible eſtates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to ſhew any bounty to the poor.

AN

ANSWER

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS ſent me from unknown Hands.

Written in the Year M,DCC,XXIX.

I AM very well pleaſed with the good opinion you expreſs of me, and wiſh it were any way in my power to anſwer your expectations for the ſervice of my country. I have carefully read your ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals, which you think ſhould be offered to the parliament. In anſwer, I will aſſure you, that, in another place, I have known very good propoſals rejected with contempt by public aſſemblies, merely becauſe they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the ſame fate, eſpecially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the leaſt intereſt with one. My printers have been twice proſecuted, to my great expence, on account of diſcourſes I writ for the public ſervice, without the leaſt reflection on parties or perſons; and the ſucceſs I had in thoſe of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the firſt hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true, both thoſe envenomed proſecutions were the workmanſhip of a judge, who is now gone to his own place*. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the inſtrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are ſeveral particulars relating to this kingdom, (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wiſhed

* *Lord* Chief-Juſtice Whitſhed.

wiſhed that the Parliament would take under their conſideration ſuch as will nowiſe interfere with *England*, otherwiſe than to its advantage.

The firſt I ſhall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almoſt every where ſcandalouſly neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and ſaver of his money, who, being poſſeſſed of ſome adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath aſſured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five ſhillings an acre, by which he gets treble intereſt. But, generally ſpeaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no ſort of proviſion made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a moſt wretched manner: Whereas the *Engliſh* are ſo particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with leſs inconvenience than one mile here. But, ſince this may be thought too great a reformation, I ſhall only ſpeak of roads for horſes, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third ſmaller than *England*; yet, by ſome natural diſadvantages, it would not bear quite the ſame proportion in value, with the ſame encouragement. However, it hath ſo happened, for many years paſt, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decreaſe of trade and increaſe of abſentees, with other circumſtances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at leaſt, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our ſide.

Now, ſuppoſing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in *England*, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the deſolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part ſo much as thoſe of *England*, which is a very mod rate computation; I do not ſee why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in ſix or ſeven years of the late King*, for mending long tracts of impaſſable ways in ſeveral countries of *England*, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving paſſage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reaſon againſt the ſame practice here, ſince the neceſſity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of ſtone and gravel as eaſy to be found, and the workmanſhip at leaſt twice as cheap. Beſides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by ſo many perch a year; but with a ſpecial care to encourage ſkill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to thoſe of the meaner ſort: But againſt theſe, no doubt, the wiſdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deſerves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater miſchief to this kingdom than moſt people ſeem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by thoſe who are eſteemed moſt ſkilful in ſuch matters, that the red ſwelling moſſy bog, whereof we have ſo many large tracts in this iſland, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the ſkirts, which are covered with a green coat, eaſily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moſs, like the other.

Now, the landlords are generally too careleſs that they ſuffer their tenants to cut their turf in theſe ſkirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly loſt a conſiderable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greateſt part of the miſchief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural ſoil, yet, by continuing large, deep, ſtraight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a ſecure ſummer-paſture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other *trees* proper for ſuch a ſoil, and the canals be convenient for

* King George I.

for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon ſled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loſs of time, by reaſon of the many turf-pits ſcattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confeſs, to me a matter of the greateſt vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be ſo abſurd as to ſuffer ſuch havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of foreſt-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great ſubmiſſion, muſt have been owing to a defect of ſkill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the Weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-ſhelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from inquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of theſe laws, I have not ſeen the leaſt, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houſes, and even thoſe with very little ſkill or ſucceſs. In all the reſt, the hedges generally miſcarry, as well as the larger ſlender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common ſkill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of aſh, a few feet aſunder, which in ſeven years would make the beſt kind of hop-poles, and grow in the ſame, or leſs time, to a ſecond crop from their roots.

It would likewiſe be of great uſe and beauty in our deſart ſcenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant aſh or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to deſtroy them.

The common objections againſt all this, drawn from the lazineſs, the perverſeneſs, or thieviſh diſpoſition of the poor native *Iriſh*, might be eaſily anſwered, by ſhewing the true reaſons for ſuch accuſations, and how eaſily thoſe people may be brought to a leſs ſavage manner of life: But my printers have already ſuffered too much for my ſpeculations. However, ſuppoſing the ſize of a native's underſtanding juſt equal to that of a

dog or horſe, I have often ſeen thoſe two animals to be civilized by rewards, at leaſt as much as by puniſhments.

It would be a noble atchievement to aboliſh the *Iriſh* language in this kingdom, ſo far at leaſt as to oblige all the natives to ſpeak only *Engliſh* on every occaſion of buſineſs, in ſhops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in leſs than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for ſuch I look upon a tax to be, of only ſix thouſand pounds a year, to accompliſh ſo great a work. This would, in a great meaſure, civilize the moſt barbarous among them, reconcile them to our cuſtoms and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be eſtabliſhed. The method is plain and ſimple; and, although I am too deſponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wiſh ſome public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, ſavage, beaſtly, thieviſh manner of life, in which they continue ſunk to a degree, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a country gentleman to find a ſervant of human capacity, or the leaſt tincture of natural honeſty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations deſtroyed, his cattle ſtolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in *England*, continuing to carry thither ſo many wealthy families, the conſequences thereof, together with the utter loſs of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced ſuch great numbers of weavers and others to ſeek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of ſtocking ſuch vaſt quantities of land with ſheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: Theſe events, I ſay, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for ſeveral years paſt. I ſhould heartily wiſh, therefore, under this miſerable dearth of money, that thoſe who are moſt concerned would think it adviſeable to ſave a hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is now ſent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics

politics of all wiſe nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wiſdom a practice ſo directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what muſt be the iſſue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it ſhould be thought proper by wiſer heads, that his Majeſty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own uſe; I believe no good ſubject will be under the leaſt apprehenſion that ſuch a requeſt could meet with refuſal, or the leaſt delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil ſociety under the proper inſpection of its prince, or legiſlature, to coin money of all uſual metals for its own occaſions. Every petty Prince in *Germany*, vaſſal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have ſeen in this kingdom ſeveral ſilver pieces, with the inſcription of *Civitas Waterford*, *Droghedagh*, and other towns.

POEMS

POEMS

ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS.

POEMS

ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS.

*BALLYSPELLIN**.

By Dr *SHERIDAN.*

ALL you that would refine your blood,
As pure as fam'd *Llewellyn*,
By waters clear, come ev'ry year,
To drink at *Ballyſpellin.*

Tho' pox or itch, your ſkins enrich
With rubies paſt the telling,
'Twill clear your ſkin before you've been
A month at *Ballyſpellin.*

If lady's cheek be green as leek
When ſhe comes from her dwelling,
The kindling roſe withing it glows
When ſhe's at *Ballyſpellin.*

The ſooty brown, who comes from town,
Grows here as fair as *Helen*;
Then back ſhe goes to kill the beaux
By dint of *Ballyſpellin.*

Our ladies are as freſh and fair
As *Roſi*, or bright *Dunkelling*:

And

* A famous ſpaw in the County of *Kilkenny.*

And *Mars* might make a fair miſtake,
Were he at *Ballyſpellin.*

We men ſubmit as they think fit,
And here is no rebelling;
The reaſon's plain, the ladies reign,
They're queens at *Ballyſpellin.*

By matchleſs charms, unconquer'd arms,
They have the power of quelling
Such deſp'rate foes as dare oppoſe
Their pow'r at *Ballyſpellin.*

Cold water turns to fire, and burns,
I know, becauſe I fell in
A ſtream which came from one bright dame
Who drank at *Ballyſpellin.*

Fine beaux advance, equipt for dance,
And bring their *Anne* or *Nell* in
With ſo much grace, I'm ſure no place
Can vye with *Ballyſpellin.*

No politics, no ſubtle tricks,
No man his country ſelling,
We eat, we drink, we never think
Of theſe at *Ballyſpellin.*

The troubled mind, the puſt with wind,
Do all come here *Pell-Mell* in;
And, they are ſure, to work their cure
By drinking *Ballyſpellin.*

If dropſy fills you to the gills,
From chin to toe tho' ſwelling,
Pour in, pour out, you cannot doubt
A cure at *Ballyſpellin.*

Death throws no darts through all theſe parts,
No ſextons here are knelling;
Come, judge and try, you'll never *die*,
But *live* at *Ballyſpellin:*

Except you feel darts tipt with ſteel,
Which here are ev'ry belle in;
When from their eyes ſweet ruin flies,
We die at *Ballyſpellin.*

Good chear, ſweet air, much joy, no care,
Your ſight, your taſte, your ſmelling,
Your ears, your touch, tranſporteth much
Each day at *Ballyſpellin.*

Within this ground we all ſleep ſound,
No noiſy dogs a yelling;
Except you wake, for *Cælia*'s ſake,
All night at *Ballyſpellin.*

Here all you ſee, both he and ſhe,
No lady keeps her cell in;
But all partake the mirth we make
Who drink at *Ballyſpellin.*

My rhimes are gone, I think I've none,
Unleſs I ſhould bring hell in;
But ſince I'm here to heav'n ſo near,
I can't at *Ballyſpellin.*

The ANSWER.

By Dr *SWIFT.*

DARE you diſpute you ſawcy brute?
And think there's no rebelling,
Your ſcurvy lays, and ſenſeleſs praiſe,
You give to *Ballyſpellin?*

Howe'er you bounce, I here pronounce,
Your med'cine is repelling;
Your water's mud, and ſcours the blood,
When drank at *Ballyſpellin.*

Thoſe pocky drabs, to cure their ſcabs,
You thither are compelling;
Will back be ſent, worſe than they went,
From naſty *Ballyſpellin.*

Llewellyn why? As well may I
Name honeſt doctor *Pellin;*
So hard ſometimes, you tug for rhimes
To bring in *Ballyſpellin.*

No ſubject fit to try your wit,
When you went colonelling;
But dull intrigues 'twixt jades and teagues,
That met at *Ballyſpellin.*

Our laſſes fair, ſay what you dare,
Who ſowing make with ſhelling,
At *Market-Hill* more beaux can kill,
Than yours at *Ballyſpellin.*

Wou'd

Would I was whipt, when *Sheelah* ſtript,
To waſh herſelf our well in;
A bum ſo white, ne'er came in ſight,
At paultry *Ballyſpellin.*

Your mawkins there, ſmocks *hempen* wear
Of *Holland*, not an ell in,
No, not a rag, what e'er you brag,
Is found at *Ballyſpellin.*

But *Tom* will prate at any rate,
All other nymphs expelling:
Becauſe he gets a few *Griſets*,
At louſy *Ballyſpellin.*

There's bony *Jane* in yonder lane,
Juſt o'er againſt the *Bell Inn*;
Where can you meet a laſs ſo ſweet,
Round all your *Ballyſpellin.*

We have a girl, deſerves an earl,
She came from *Enniſkillin*;
So fair ſo young, no ſuch among
The belles at *Ballyſpellin.*

How would you ſtare, to ſee her there,
The foggy miſt diſpelling;
That cloud the brows, of every blowſe
Who lives at *Ballyſpellin.*

Now as I live, I would not give
A *Stiver* for a *Skellin*,
To towſe and kiſs the faireſt miſs
That leaks at *Ballyſpellin.*

Who e'er will raiſe ſuch lies as theſe,
Deſerves a good cudgelling:
Who falſly boaſts of belles and toaſts,
At dirty *Ballyſpellin*.

My rhimes are gone, to all but one,
Which is, our trees are felling.
As proper quite, as thoſe you write,
To force in *Ballyſpellin*.

A RIDDLE. By Dr DELANY.

Inſcribed to the Lady CARTERET.

I Reach all things near me, and far off to boot,
Without ſtretching a finger, or ſtirring a foot.
I take them all in too, to add to your wonder;
Tho' many and various, and large and aſunder.
Without joſtling or crowding they paſs ſide by ſide,
Thro' a wonderful wicket, not half an inch wide:
Then I lodge them at eaſe in a very large ſtore,
Of no breadth, or length, with a thouſand things more.
All this I can do without witchcraft or charm,
Tho' ſometimes they ſay I bewitch, and do harm;
Tho' cold I inflame, and tho' quiet invade,
And nothing can ſhield from my ſpell but a ſhade.
A thief that has robb'd you, or done you diſgrace,
In magical mirror I'll ſhew you his face:
Nay, if you'll believe what the poets have ſaid,
They'll tell you I kill, and can call back the dead.
Like conjurers ſafe in my circle I dwell,
I love to look black too, it heightens my ſpell;
Tho' my magic is mighty in every Hue,
Who ſee all my power muſt ſee it in YOU.

The

The ſame anſwered by Dr SWIFT.

WITH half an Eye
Your *Riddle* I ſpy.
I obſerve your wicket
Hemm'd in by a thicket,
And whatever paſſes
Is ſtrain'd thro' glaſſes.
You ſay it is quiet,
I flatly deny it:
It wanders about,
Without ſtirring out,
No paſſion ſo weak
But gives it a tweak;
Love, joy, and devotion
Set it always in motion.
And as for the tragic
Effects of his magic,
Which you ſay it can kill,
Or revive at its will,
The dead are all ſound
And revive above ground,
After all you have writ,
It cannot be wit.
Which plainly does follow,
Since it flies from *Appollo*.
Its cowardice ſuch,
It cries at a touch,
'Tis a perfect milkſop,
Grows drunk with a drop.
Another great fault,
It cannot bear ſalt;
And a hair can diſarm
It of every charm.

A RIDDLE. By Dr SWIFT, to my Lady CARTERET.

FROM *India*'s burning clime I'm brought,
With cooling gales like zephyrs fraught.
Not *Iris* when ſhe paints the ſky,
Can ſhew more different hue than I;
Nor can ſhe change her form ſo faſt,
I'm now a ſail and now a maſt.
I here am red, and there am green,
A beggar there, and here a queen.
I ſometimes live in houſe of hair,
And oft in hand of lady fair.
I pleaſe the young, I grace the old,
And am at once both hot and cold.
Say what I am then if you can,
And find the rhime, and you're the man.

Anſwered by Dr SHERIDAN.

YOUR houſe of hair and lady's hand,
At firſt did put me to a ſtand.
I have it now, ——'tis plain enough,
Your hairy bus'neſs is a *Muff*.
Your engine fraught with cooling gales,
At once ſo like your maſt and ſails.
And for the rhime to *you're the man*,
What fits it better than a *fan*.

The LOGICIANS refuted.

LOGICIANS have but ill defin'd
As rational, the human kind;
Reaſon, they ſay, belongs to man,
But let them prove it, if they can.

Wiſe

Wiſe *Ariſtotle* and *Smigleſius*,
By ratiocinations ſpecious,
Have ſtrove to prove with great preciſion,
With definition and diviſion,
Homo eſt ratione præditum;
But, for my ſoul, I cannot credit 'em.
And muſt, in ſpite of them, maintain,
That man and all his ways are vain;
And that this boaſted lord of nature
Is both a weak and erring creature.
That inſtinct is a ſurer guide
Than reaſon-boaſting mortals pride;
And, that brute beaſts are far before 'em,
Deus eſt anima brutorum.
Whoever knew an honeſt brute,
At law his neighbour proſecute.
Bring action for aſſault and battery,
Or friend beguile with lies and flattery.
O'er plains they ramble unconfin'd,
No politics diſturb their mind;
They eat their meals, and take their ſport,
Nor know who's in or out at court.
They never to the levee go
To treat, as deareſt friend, a foe:
They never importune his grace,
Nor ever cringe to men in place;
Nor undertake a dirty job,
Nor draw the quill to write for *Bob*.
Fraught with invective they ne'er go
To folks at *Pater-Noſter-Row*:
No judges, fidlers, dancing maſters,
No pick-pockets, or poetaſters,
Are known to honeſt quadrupeds:
No ſingle brute his fellows leads.
Brutes never meet in bloody fray,
Nor cut each others throats for pay.
Of beaſts, it is confeſs'd, the ape
Comes neareſt us in human ſhape,

Like

Like man he imitates each faſhion,
And malice is his ruling paſſion :
But, both in malice and grimaces,
A courtier any ape ſurpaſſes.
Behold him humbly cringing wait
Upon the miniſter of ſtate ;
View him ſoon after to inferiors
Aping the conduct of ſuperiors :
He promiſes with equal air,
And to perform takes equal care.
He in his turn finds imitators,
At court the porters, lacqueys, waiters,
Their maſters' manners ſtill contract,
And footmen, lords and dukes can act.
Thus, at the court, both great and ſmall
Behave alike, for all ape all.

ODE ON SCIENCE.

O H heav'nly born! in deepeſt cells
If faireſt ſcience ever dwells
Beneath the moſſy cave ;
Indulge the verdure of the woods :
With azure beauty gild the floods,
And flow'ry carpets lave ;
For melancholy ever reigns
Delighted in the ſylvan ſcenes
With ſcientific light ;
While *Dian* huntreſs of the vales
Seeks lulling ſounds and fanning gales,
Tho' rapt from mortal ſight.
Yet, goddeſs yet, the way explore
With magic rites and heathen lore
Obſtructed and depreſs'd :
'Till wiſdom gave the ſacred nine,
Untaught, not uninſpired to ſhine,
By reaſon's power redreſs'd.

When

When *Solon* and *Lycurgus* taught,
To moralize the human thought
Of mad opinion's maze,
To erring zeal they gave new laws.
Thy charms, O liberty, the cauſe
That blends congenial rays.
Bid bright *Aſtræa* gild the morn,
Or bid a hundred ſuns be born,
To hecatomb the year;
Without thy aid in vain the poles:
In vain the Zodiac ſyſtem rolls:
In vain the lunar ſphere.
Come, faireſt princeſs of the throng,
Bring ſweet philoſophy along
In metaphyſic dreams;
While raptur'd bards no more behold
A vernal age of purer gold
In Heliconian ſtreams.
Drive thraldom with malignant hand,
To curſe ſome other deſtin'd land
By folly led aſtray:
Ierne bear on azure wing;
Energic let her ſoar, and ſing
Thy univerſal ſway.
So when *Amphion* bade the lyre
To more majeſtic ſound aſpire,
Behold the madding throng,
In wonder and oblivion drown'd,
To ſculpture turn'd by magic ſound,
And petrifying ſong.

The PUPPET-SHOW.

THE life of man to repreſent,
And turn it all to ridicule,
Wit did a *puppet-ſhow* invent,
Where the chief actor is a fool.

The

The gods of old were logs of wood,
And worſhip was to *puppets* paid,
In antic dreſs the idol ſtood,
And prieſts and people bow'd the head.

No wonder then, if art began,
The ſimple votaries to frame,
To ſhape in *timber* fooliſh man,
And conſecrate the *block* to fame.

From hence poetic fancy learn'd
That trees might riſe from human forms,
The body to a trunk be turn'd,
And branches iſſue from the arms.

Thus *Dædalus* and *Ovid* too,
That man's a blockhead have confeſt,
Powel and *Stretch* † the hint purſue,
Life is the farce, the world a jeſt.

The ſame great truth *South-Sea* ‡ hath prov'd
On that fam'd theatre, the *ally*,
Where thouſands by directors mov'd
Are now ſad monuments of folly.

What *Momus* was of old to *Jove*
The ſame *Harlequin* is now;
The former was *Buffoon* above
The latter is a *Punch* below.

This fleeting ſcene is but a ſtage,
Where various images appear,
In different parts of youth and age
Alike the prince and peaſant ſhare.

And

† Two puppet-ſhow men.
‡ See the poem on the *South-Sea* project, p. 130.

Some draw our eyes by being great,
  False pomp conceals mere wood within,
And legislators rang'd in state
  Are oft but wisdom in machine.

A stock may chance to wear a crown,
  And timber as a lord take place,
A statue may put on a frown
  And cheat us with a thinking face.

Others are blindly led away,
  And made to act for ends unknown,
By the mere spring of wires they play
  And speak in language not their own.

Too oft, alas! a scolding wife
  Usurps a jolly fellow's throne,
And many drink the cup of life,
  Mix'd and embitter'd by a *Joan*.

In short, whatever men pursue
  Of pleasure, folly, war, or love;
This mimic-race brings all to view,
  Alike they dress, they talk, they move.

Go on, great *Stretch*, with artful hand,
  Mortals to please and to deride,
And when death breaks thy vital band,
  Thou shalt put on a *puppet's* pride.

Thou shalt in puny wood be shewn,
  Thy image shall preserve thy fame,
Ages to come thy worth shall own,
  Point at thy limbs, and tell thy name.

Tell *Tom* he draws a *Farce* in vain,
  Before he looks in nature's glass,
Puns cannot form a witty scene,
  Nor *Pedantry* for humour pass.

To

To make men act as senseleſs wood,
And chatter in a myſtic ſtrain,
Is a mere force on fleſh and blood,
And ſhews ſome error in the brain.

He that would thus refine on thee,
And turn thy ſtage into a ſchool,
The jeſt of *Punch* will ever be,
And ſtand confeſt the greater fool.

On PSYCHE*.

AT two afternoon for our *Pſyche* inquire,
Her tea-kettle's on, and her ſmock at the fire;
So loitering, ſo active; ſo buſy, ſo idle,
Which hath ſhe moſt need of, a ſpur or a bridle?
Thus, a greyhound out runs the whole pack in a race,
Yet would rather be hang'd than he'd leave a warm place.
She gives you ſuch plenty, it puts you in pain;
But ever with prudence takes care of the main.
To pleaſe you, ſhe knows how to chuſe a nice bit;
For her taſte is almoſt as refin'd as her wit.
To oblige a good friend, ſhe will trace ev'ry market,
It would do your heart good, to ſee how ſhe will cark it.
Yet beware of her arts, for it plainly appears,
She ſaves half her victuals, by feeding your ears.

To Mrs HOUGHTON of *Bormont* upon praiſing her huſband to Dr SWIFT.

YOU always are making a god of your ſpouſe,
But this neither reaſon nor conſcience allows;
Perhaps you will ſay, 'tis in gratitude due,
And you adore him, becauſe he adores you.
Your argument's weak, and ſo you will find,
For you, by this rule, muſt adore all mankind.

On

* Mrs SICAN, a very ingenious well-bred lady, wife to Mr *JOHN SICAN*, an eminent Grocer in *Dublin*.

On the collar of Mrs DINGLEY's lap-dog.

PRAY ſteal me not, I'm Mrs *Dingley*'s,
Whoſe heart in this four-footed thing lies.

A left-handed letter to Dr SHERIDAN *.

SIR,

DELANY reports it, and he has a ſhrewd tongue,
That we both are the part of the clown and cow-dung;
We lye cramming ourſelves, and are ready to burſt,
Yet ſtill are no wiſer than we were at firſt.
Pudet hæc opprobria, I freely muſt tell ye,
Et diu potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli.
Tho' DELANY advis'd you to plague me no longer,
You reply and rejoin like HOADLY of *Bangor*.
I muſt now, at one ſitting, pay off my old ſcore:
How many to anſwer? One, two, three, four.
But becauſe the three former are long ago paſt,
I ſhall, for method ſake, begin with the laſt.
You treat me like a boy that knocks down his foe,
Who, ere t'other gets up, demands the riſing blow.
Yet I know a young rogue, that thrown flat on the field,
Would, as he lay under, cry out, Sirrah, yield:
So, the *French*, when our generals ſoundly did pay 'em,
Went triumphant to church, and ſang ſtoutly Te Deum:
So the famous TOM LEIGH, when quite run a-ground,
Comes off by out-laughing the company round.
In ev'ry vile pamphlet you'll read the ſame fancies,
Having thus overthrown all our further advances.
My offers of peace you ill underſtood,
Friend SHERIDAN, when will you know your own good?

* All the humour of this poem is loſt, by the impoſſibility of printing it left-handed, as it was wrote.

'Twas to teach you in moderate language your duty;
For, were you a dog, I could not be rude t'ye.
As a good quiet ſoul, who no miſchief intends
To a quarrelſome fellow, cries, Let us be friends.
But we like ANTÆUS and HERCULES fight,
The oft'ner you fall, the oft'ner you write;
And I'll uſe you as he did that overgrown clown,
I'll firſt take you up, and then take you down:
And, 'tis your own caſe, for you never can wound
The worſt dunce in your ſchool, 'till he's heav'd from the ground.

I beg your pardon for uſing my left hand, but I was in great haſte, and the other hand was employed at the ſame time in writing ſome letters of buſineſs.

September 20. 1718.

I will ſend you the reſt when I have leiſure; but pray come to dinner with the company you met here laſt.

Upon ſtealing a CROWN when the DEAN was aſleep.

By Dr SHERIDAN.

DEAR dean, ſince you in ſleepy wiſe
Have op'd your mouth, and clos'd your eyes,
Like Ghoſt I glide along your floor,
And ſoftly ſhut the parlour door:
For ſhould I break your ſweet repoſe,
Who knows what money you might loſe?
Since oftentimes it has been found,
A dream has giv'n ten thouſand pound.
Then ſleep, my friend, dear dean, ſleep on,
And all you get ſhall be your own;
Provided you to this agree,
That all you loſe belongs to me.

The

The DEAN's Anſwer.

SO about twelve at night, the punk
Steals from the cully when he's drunk;
Nor is contented with a treat,
Without her privilege to cheat.
Nor can I the leaſt diff'rence find,
But that you left no clap behind.
But jeſt apart, reſtore, you capon ye,
My twelve thirteens * and ſix-pence ha'penny.
To eat my meat, and drink my medlicot,
And then to give me ſuch a deadly cut ——
But 'tis obſerv'd, that men in gowns
Are moſt inclin'd to plunder *crowns*.
Could you but *change* a crown as eaſy
As you can ſteal one, how 'twould pleaſe ye!
I thought the lady † at St *Cath'rine's*
Knew how to ſet you better patterns;
For this I will not dine with *Agmondiſham* ‡,
And for his victuals let a ragman diſh 'em.

Saturday Night

On the Little Houſe by the Church-yard of *Caſtleknock*.

WHOEVER pleaſeth to inquire,
Why yonder ſteeple wants a ſpire,
The grey old fellow, poet *Joe* ‖,
The philoſophic cauſe will ſhew.

Once, on a time, a weſtern blaſt,
At leaſt twelve inches overcaſt,

* An *Engliſh* ſhilling paſſeth for thirteen pence in *Ireland*.
† Lady *Montcaſhel*.
‡ *Agmondſham Veſey*, Eſq; a very worthy gentleman for whom the author had a great eſteem.
‖ Mr BEAMONT, of *Trim*.

Reckoning roof, weather cock and all,
Which came with a prodigious fall:
And tumbling topſy-turvy round,
Light with its bottom on the ground.

For by the laws of gravitation,
It fell into its proper ſtation.

This is the little ſtrutting pile,
You ſee juſt by the church-yard ſtile;
The walls in tumbling gave a knock,
And thus the ſteeple got a ſhock;
From whence the neighbouring farmer calls
The ſteeple, knock; the vicar *walls* *.

The vicar once a week creeps in,
Sits with his knees up to his chin;
Here conns his notes and takes a whet,
Till the ſmall ragged flock is met.

A traveller, who by did paſs,
Obſerv'd the roof behind the graſs;
On tip-toe ſtood, and rear'd his ſnout,
And ſaw the parſon creeping out;
Was much ſurpriz'd to ſee a crow
Venture to build his neſt ſo low.

A ſchool-boy ran unto't and thought,
The crib was down the blackbird caught.
A third, who loſt his way by night,
Was forc'd, for ſafety, to alight,
And ſtepping o'er the fabric roof,
His horſe had like to ſpoil his hoof.

Warburton took it in his noddle,
This building was deſign'd a model,

* Rev. Archdeacon WALLS.

Or,

Or, of a pigeon-houſe, or oven,
To bake one loaf, and keep one dove in.
Then Mrs *Johnſon* * gave her verdict,
And every one was pleas'd that heard it:
All that you make this ſtir about,
Is but a ſtill without a ſpout.
The Rev'rend Dr *Raymond* † gueſs'd,
More probably than all the reſt;
He ſaid, but that it wanted room,
It might have been a pigmy's tomb.

The doctor's family came by,
And little miſs began to cry;
Give me that houſe in my own hand;
Then madam bid the chariot ſtand,
Call'd to the clerk in manner mild,
Pray reach that thing, here, to the child,
That thing, I mean, among the kale,
And here's to buy a pot of ale.

The clerk ſaid to her in a heat,
What? ſell my maſter's country ſeat?
Where he comes ev'ry week from town;
He would not ſell it for a crown.
Poh! fellow keep not ſuch a pother,
In half an hour thou'lt build another.

Says *Nancy* ‡, I can make for miſs,
A finer houſe ten times than this;
The dean will give me willow-ſticks,
And *Joe* my apron full of bricks.

* A friend of the author's.
† Miniſter of *Trim*.
‡ The waiting woman.

Probatur aliter.

A Long-ear'd beaſt, and a field-houſe for cattle,
Among the cattle does often rattle.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a bird that prates,
The bridegroom's firſt gift to their mates,
Is by all pious chriſtians thought,
In clergymen the greateſt fault.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and woman of *Endor*,
If your wife be a ſcold that will mend her.
With a long-ear'd beaſt, and med'cines uſe,
Cooks make their fool look tight and ſpruce.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and holy fable,
Strengthens the ſhoes of half the rabble.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and *Rheniſh* wine,
Lies in the lap of ladies fine.
A long-ear'd beaſt and *Flanders* college,
Is Dr *T*——*l* to my knowledge.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and building knight;
Cenſorious people do in ſpight.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and bird of night,
We ſinners are too apt to ſlight.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a ſhameful vermin,
A judge will eat, tho' clad in ermin.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and *Iriſh* cart,
Can leave a mark and give a ſmart.
A long-ear'd beaſt in mud to lie,
No bird in air ſo ſwift can fly.
A long-ear'd beaſt and a ſputt'ring old whig,
I wiſh he were in it and dancing a jig.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and liquor to write,
Is a damnable ſmell both morning and night.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and the child of a ſheep,
At whiſt they will make a deſperate ſweep.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and 'till midnight you ſtay,
Will cover a houſe much better than clay.

A long-

A long-ear'd beaſt, and the drink you love beſt,
You call him a ſloven in earneſt or jeſt.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and the ſixteenth letter,
I'd not look at all, unleſs I look'd better.
A long-ear'd beaſt give me, and eggs unſound,
Or elſe I will not ride one inch of ground.
A long-ear'd beaſt, another name for jeer,
To ladies ſkins there is nothing comes ſo near.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and kind noiſe of a cat,
Is uſeful in journies take notice of that.
A long-ear'd beaſt, and what ſeaſons your beef,
On ſuch an occaſion the law gives relief.
A long-ear'd beaſt, a thing that force muſt drive in,
Bears up his houſe, that's of his own contriving.

To a friend who had been much abuſed in many different libels.

THE greateſt monarch may be ſtabb'd by night,
And fortune help the murd'rer in his flight;
The vileſt ruffian may commit a rape,
Yet ſafe from injured innocence eſcape;
And calumny, by working under ground,
Can, unreveng'd, the greateſt merit wound;
What's to be done? Shall wit and learning chuſe
To live obſcure, and have no fame to loſe?
By cenſure frighted out of honour's road,
Nor dare to uſe the gifts by heaven beſtow'd;
Or fearleſs enter in thro' virtue's gate,
And buy diſtinction at the deareſt rate.

On NOISY TOM.

——— *Qui præmittit, cives, urbem, ſibi curæ,*
Imperium fore, et Italiam, et delubra Deorum;
Quo patre ſit natus, num ignota matre inhoneſtus,

Omnes

Omnes mortales curare, et quærere cogit.
Tune Syri, Damæ, aut Dionysi filius audes
Dejicere e saxo cives, aut tradere Cadmo?

HOR. Lib. i. Sat. vi. ver. 34-39

Translated literally.

Whoever promiseth (in the senate) to take the city (of *Rome*) and the citizens under his care, nay, the whole empire, *Italy*, and the temples of the gods; such a man compelleth all mortals curiously to inquire from what father he sprung, and whether his mother were some obscure dishonourable female. (The people would cry out) What, thou, the son of *Cyrus**, or *Damas**, or *Dionysius**, darest thou cast our citizens down the *Tarpeian* rock, or deliver them prisoners to *Cadmus*†.

PARAPHRASED.

IF noisy *T*— (1) should in the S-n-te prate,
That he would answer both for church and state;
And, further to demonstrate his affection,
Would take the kingdom into his protection:
All mortals must be curious to inquire,
Who could this coxcomb be, and who his sire?
What! thou the spawn of him (2) who sham'd our isle,
That traitor, assassin, informer vile.
Though by the female side (3) you proudly bring,
To mend your breed, the murderer of a king;
What was thy grandsire (4) but a mountaineer,
Who held a cabbin for ten groats a year;

Whose

* Usual names of slaves at *Rome*.

† *Cadmus* was a lictor, an officer who seized on criminals, like a constable, or messenger of the H---- of C------.

(1) Sir *T*———*P*- - - - - -.

(2) The father of Sir *T*-------, * * * *, who engaged in a plot to murder King *William* III. but, to avoid being hanged, turned informer against his associates, for which he was rewarded with a good estate, and made a baronet.

(3) *C*- *d*- *g*- *n*'s family, &c.

(4) A poor thieving cottager under Mr *Moore*, condemned at *Clonmell* assizes to be hanged for stealing cows.

Whoſe maſter, *Moore* (5) preſerved him from the halter,
For ſtealing cows, nor could he read the Pſalter?
Durſt thou, ungrateful, from the S-n-te chace
Thy founder's grandſon (6) and uſurp his place?
Juſt heaven! to ſee the dunghill daſtard brood
Survive in thee, and make the proverb good (7).
Then vote a worthy citizen (8) to jail,
In ſpight to juſtice, and refuſe his bail.

It is well known, that queen *Anne* had nominated Dr *Swift* to an *Engliſh* biſhopric, which was oppoſed by Dr *Sharp*, archbiſhop of *York*, and the dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, who had prevailed on his grace to go with her to the queen to lay aſide the nomination, which her majeſty refuſed; but, the dutcheſs falling on her knees, and ſhewing the following prophecy to majeſty, the biſhopric was given to another. See the poem, *The Author on himſelf*, vol. vii. p. 164.

The *W--dſ--r* Prophecy.

About three months ago at *W—dſ—r*, a poor knight's widow was buried in the *Cloyſters*. In digging the grave, the ſexton ſtruck againſt a ſmall leaden coffer, about half a foot in length, and four inches wide. The poor man expecting he had diſcovered a treaſure, opened it with ſome difficulty; but found only a ſmall parchment, rolled up very faſt, put into a leather caſe; which caſe was tied at the top, and ſealed with a St

(5) The grandfather of *Guy Moore*, Eſq; who procured him a pardon.

(6) *Guy Moore* was fairly elected member of P------ for *Clonmell*: but Sir *T*------ depending upon his intereſt with a certain party then prevailing, and ſince known by the title of *Parſon-hunters*, petitioned the houſe againſt him, out of which he was turned upon pretence of bribery, which the paying of his lawful debts was then voted to be.

(7) Save a thief from the gallows, and he will cut your throat.

(8) Mr *G*—— *F*——, a very honeſt and eminent printer in *Dublin*, who was voted to *Newgate* upon a ridiculous complaint of one ſerjeant *Betteſworth*.

St *George*, the impreſſion on black wax, very rude and *Gothic*. The parchment was carried to a gentleman of learning, who found in it the following lines, written in a black old *Engliſh* letter, and in the orthography of the age, which ſeems to be about two hundred years ago. I made a ſhift to obtain a copy of it; but the tranſcriber, I find, hath in many parts altered the ſpelling to the modern way. The original, as I am informed, is now in the hands of the ingenious Dr *W*——, F. R. S. where, I ſuppoſe, the curious will not be refuſed the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it.

The lines ſeem to be a ſort of prophecy, and written in verſe, as old prophecies uſually are, but in a very hobbling kind of meaſure. Their meaning is very dark, if it be any at all: of which the learned reader can judge better than I: however it be, ſeveral perſons were of opinion, that they deſerved to be publiſhed, both as they diſcover ſomewhat of the genius of a former age, and may be an amuſement to the preſent.

WHEN a holy black *Swede* (*a*), the ſon of *Bob*,
With a *ſaint* at his chin, and a *ſeal* at his fob;
Shall not ſee one (*b*) New-year's-day in that year,
Then let old *England* make good chear:
Windſor and *Briſtow* then ſhall be
Joined together in the *Low-Countree*.
Then ſhall the tall black *(c) Deventry Bird*
Speak againſt peace right many a word;
And ſome ſhall admire his conyng wit,
For many good *groats* his tongue ſhall flit.
But ſpight of the *Harpy (d)* that *crawls on all four*,
There ſhall be peace, pardie, and war no more.

But

(a) Dr ROBINSON, biſhop of *Briſtol*, was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of *Utrecht*.

(b) There was then eleven days difference between the Old and New Stile, which latter did not take place in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, until it was introduced by act of parliament, to comme nce *Sept.* 2. 1752, when eleven days were ommitted, and the next day was called *Sept.* 14.

(c) Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

(d) Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

But *England*, muſt cry alack and well-a-day,
If the *Stick* be taken from the *dead Sea*.
And dear *England*, if ought I underſtond,
Beware of *Carrots* from *Northumberlond* (1).
Carrots ſown *Thynne* (2) a deep root may get,
If ſo be they are in *Sommer ſet*:
Their (3) *Conyngs mark* thou, for I have been told,
They *aſſaſſine* when young, and *poiſon* when old.
Root out theſe *Carrots*, O thou (4), whoſe name,
Is backwards and forwards always the ſame;
And keep cloſe to thee always that *name*,
Which (5) backwards and forwards is almoſt the ſame,
And *England* wouldſt thou be happy ſtill,
Bury thoſe *Carrots* under a (6) *Hill*.

VERSES

(1) Lady *Elizabeth Percy*, ſole daughter and heir of *Joceline Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was married to *Charles Seymore*, Duke of *Somerſet*.

(2) *Thomas Thynne*, Eſq; a gentleman of very great eſtate, who was courting the above lady, after the death of her firſt husband *Henry Cavendiſh*, Earl of *Ogle*, only ſon to *Henry*, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who died before he was of age to cohabit with her; being ſet up in the *Hay-Market*, *London*, was murdered by Count *Coningſmark*, a *Poliſh* nobleman, (who paid his addreſſes to this lady, but was refuſed) and two ruffians, who ſhot Mr *Thynne* in his coach. The Count made his eſcape, but the others were hanged. There is a monument in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, erected to the memory of Mr *Thynne*, with ſome hieroglyphic figures, repreſenting the manner of his murder.

(3) Count *Coningſmark*.

(4) *Anna Regina*.

(5) Lady *Maſham*.

(6) Lady *Maſham*'s maiden name was *Hill*.

VERSES occaſioned by the ſudden drying up of ST PATRICK'S WELL near Trinity College, *Dublin*, in 1726.

BY holy zeal inſpir'd, and led by fame (1),
To thee, once fav'rite iſle, with joy I came;
What time the *Goth*, the *Vandal*, and the *Hun*,
Had my own native *Italy* (2) o'er-run.
Ierne, to the world's remoteſt parts,
Renown'd for valour (3), policy, and arts.

Hither from *Colchos* (4), with the fleecy ore,
Jaſon arriv'd two thouſand years before.

Thee,

(1) *Feſtus Avienus* flouriſhed in 370. See his poem *De oris Maritimis*, where he uſes this expreſſion concerning *Ireland*, "Inſula "ſacra et ſic Inſulam dixere priſci; eamque late gens Hibernorum "colit."

(2) *Italy* was not properly the native place of St *Patrick*, but the place of his education, and whence he received his miſſion; and becauſe he had his new birth there, hence, by poetical licence, and by ſcripture figure, our author calls that country his native *Italy*.

(3) *Julius Solinus*, who lived about the time of *Tacitus*, in the year 80, Chap. 21. ſpeaking of the *Iriſh* as a warlike nation, ſays, that the wives in *Ireland*, when delivered of a ſon, give the child its firſt food off the point of their husband's ſword. "Puerpera, "ſi quando marem edidit, primos Cibos Gladio imponit mariti, "inque os Parvuli ſummo mucrone auſpicium alimentorum leviter "infert et gentilibus votis optat, non aliter quam in bello et inter "arma mortem oppetat." Again, "Præcipua viris gloria eſt in "armorum tutela."

Polydore Vergil ſays, they were diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in muſic. "Hiberni ſunt muſicæ peritiſſimi." So *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who was preceptor to King *John*, in his *Topographia Hiberniæ*, Chap. 11. "In muſicis ſolum, præ omni natione quam vidimus, "incomparabiliter eſt inſtructa gens hæc."

(4) *Orpheus*, or the antient author of the *Greek* poem on the *Argonautic* expedition, whoever he be, ſays, that *Jaſon* who manned the ſhip *Argos* at *Theſſaly*, ſailed to *Ireland*. And *Adrianus Junius* ſays the ſame thing in theſe lines,

Illa ego ſum Graiis, olim glaciales Ierne
Dicta, et Jaſoniæ Puppis bene cognita nautis.

Thee (5) happy iſland, *Pallas* call'd her own,
When haughty *Britain* was a land unknown.
From thee, with pride, the *Caledonians* (6) trace
The glorious founder of their kingly race:
Thy martial ſons, whom now they dare deſpiſe,
Did once their land ſubdue and civilize:
Their dreſs, their language, and the *Scottiſh* name,
Confeſs the ſoil from whence the victors came.
Well may they boaſt that antient blood, which runs
Within their veins, who are thy younger ſons,
A conqueſt and a colony from thee,
The mother-kingdom left her children free;
From thee no mark of ſlavery they felt,
Not ſo with thee thy baſe invaders dealt;
Invited here to 'vengeful *Morough*'s aid (7),

(5) *Tacitus*, in the life of *Julius Agricola* ſays, that the harbours of *Ireland*, on account of their commerce, were better known to the trading part of the world, than thoſe of *Britain*. "Solum, "cœlumque, et ingenia cultuſque hominum, haud multum a Bri-"tannia differunt; melius aditus, portuſque per commercia et ne-"gotiatores cogniti."

(6) *Fordun*, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, *Hector Boethius*, *Buchanan*, and all the *Scotch* hiſtorians agree, that *Fergus*, ſon of *Ferquard* King of *Ireland*, was the firſt King of *Scotland*, which country he ſubdued. That he began to reign 330 years before the Chriſtian æra, and in returning to viſit his native country, was ſhipwrecked on thoſe rocks in the county of *Antrim*, which from that accident have been ſince named *Carrickfergus*. His deſcendants reigned after him in *Scotland*; for the crown was ſettled on him and his lineal ſucceſſors. See the liſt of the Kings of *Scotland* in *Hector Boethius* and *George Buchanan*, which begins thus: "1. Fergusius primus "Scotorum rex. filius Ferquardi regis Hiberniæ, regnare incepit "anno ante Chriſti ſervatoris in carnem adventum trecenteſimo "trigeſimo. Regnavit annis xxv et, naufragio periit ad Scopulum "Fergusii (Cragfergus vernacule) in mari Hiberniæ."

The *Iriſh* language and habit are ſtill retained in the northern parts of *Scotland*, where the *Highlanders* ſpeak the *Iriſh* tongue, and uſe their antient dreſs. As to the name *Scotland*, *Camden de Hibernia* mentions it from the authority of *Iſidore* and *Beda*, that they called *Ireland Scotia*, and that *Scotland* was termed *Scotia a Scotis Incolis, et inde Scotiæ nomen cum Scotis in Britanniam noſtram commigraſſe*. Bede, Lib. i. cap. 1. ſays, *Hibernia propria Scotorum patria*.

(7) In the reign of King *Henry* II. *Dermot M'Morough*, King of *Leinſter*, being deprived of his kingdom by Roderick O'Connor, King of

Thoſe whom they could not conquer, they betray'd.
Britain, by thee we fell, ungrateful iſle!
Not by thy valour, but ſuperior guile;
Britain, with ſhame confeſs, this land of mine (8)
Firſt taught thee human knowledge and divine;
My prelates and my ſtudents, ſent from hence,
Made your ſons converts both to God and ſenſe:
Not like the paſtors of thy rav'nous breed,
Who come to fleece the flocks, and not to feed.

Wretched

of *Connaught*, he invited the *Engliſh* over as auxiliaries, and promiſed *Richard Strangbow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, his daughter, and all his dominions as a portion. By this aſſiſtance *M'Morough* recovered his crown, and *Strangbow* became poſſeſſed of all *Leinſter*. After this, more forces being ſent into *Ireland*, the *Engliſh* became powerful here; and when *Henry* II. arrived, the *Iriſh* Princes ſubmitted to his government, and began to uſe the *Engliſh* laws.

(8) St *Patrick* arrived in *Ireland* in the year 431, and compleated the converſion of the natives, which had been begun by *Palladius* and others. And as Biſhop *Nicholſon* obſerves, (who was better acquainted with the contents of all the antient hiſtories of both kingdoms than any man of the age) *Ireland* ſoon became the fountain of learning, to which all the weſtern Chriſtians, as well as the *Engliſh* had recourſe, not only for inſtruction in the principles of religion, but in all ſorts of literature; *viz. Legendi et Scholaſticæ Eruditionis gratia*. For within a century after the death of St *Patrick*, the *Iriſh* ſeminaries of learning increaſed to ſuch a degree, that moſt parts of *Europe* ſent hither their children to be educated, and had from hence both their Biſhops and Doctors. See venerable *Bede*, an *Engliſh* hiſtorian of undoubted credit, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 4, 7, 10, 11, 27. Among other *Iriſh* apoſtles, he ſays, Saint *Columb* converted all the *Picts*, and many other *Britons*; and that Saint *Aidan* was the inſtructor of King *Oſwald's Saxon* ſubjects in Chriſtianity. *Camden in Hibernia* writes; "Subſequente ætate, Scoticis "monarchis nihil ſanctius, nihil eruditius fuerit, et in univerſam "Europam ſanctiſſimorum virorum examina emiſerint." He ſays further, that they not only repaired to *Ireland*, as to the mart of learning, but alſo brought from thence even the form of their letters: "Angloſaxones etiam noſtri illa ætate in Hiberniam tan-"quam ad bonarum literarum mercatoram undique confluxerunt; "unde de viris ſanctis ſæpiſſime in noſtris ſcriptoribus legitur; a-"mandatus eſt ad diſciplinam in Hiberniam. Indeque noſtrates "Saxones rationem formandi literas accepiſſe videantur. quum eo-"dem plane charactere uſi fuerunt, qui hodie Hibernicis eſt in "uſu."

Wretched *Ierne*! with what grief I ſee
The fatal changes time hath made in thee.
The Chriſtian rites I introduc'd in vain:
Lo! Infidelity return'd again.
Freedom and virtue in thy ſons I found,
Who now in vice and ſlavery are drown'd.

By faith and pray'r, this croſier in my hand,
I drove the venom'd ſerpent from thy land;
The ſhepherd in his bow'r might ſleep or ſing (9),
Nor dread the adder's tooth, nor ſcorpion's ſting.

With omens oft I ſtrove to warn thy ſwains,
Omens, the types of thy impending chains.
I ſent the magpye from the *Britiſh* ſoil,
With reſtleſs beak thy blooming fruit to ſpoil,
To din thine ears with unharmonious clack,
And haunt thy holy walls in white and black.
What elſe are thoſe thou ſeeſt in biſhop's geer,
Who crop the nurſeries of learning here?
Aſpiring, greedy, full of ſenſeleſs prate,
Devour the church, and chatter to the ſtate.

As you grew more degenerate and baſe,
I ſent you millions of the croaking race;
Emblems of inſects vile who ſpread their ſpawn
Through all thy land, in armour, fur, and lawn;
A nauſeous brood, that fills your ſenate walls,
And in the chambers of your viceroy crawls.

See, where the new-devouring vermin runs,
Sent in my anger from the land of *Huns*;
With harpy claws it undermines the ground,
And ſudden ſpreads a num'rous offſpring round;
Th' amphibious tyrant, with his rav'nous band,
Drains all thy lakes of fiſh, of fruits thy land.

(9) There are no ſnakes, vipers, or toads in *Ireland*; and even frogs were not known here until about the year 1700. The magpyes came a ſhort time before, and the Norway rats ſince.

Where is the ſacred well, that bore my name?
Fled to the fountain back, from whence it came!
Fair freedom's emblem once, which ſmoothly flows,
And bleſſings equally on all beſtows.
Here, from the neighb'ring (10) nurſery of arts,
The ſtudents drinking, rais'd their wit and parts;
Here, for an age and more, improv'd their vein,
Their *Phœbus* I, my ſpring their *Hippocrene.*
Diſcourag'd youths, now all their hopes muſt fail,
Condemn'd to country cottages and ale;
To foreign prelates make a ſlaviſh court,
And by their ſweat procure a mean ſupport;
Or, for the clafficks read th' attorney's guide,
Collect exciſe, or wait upon the tide.

O! had I been apoſtle to the *Swiſs*,
Or hardy *Scot*, or any land but this;
Combin'd in arms, they had their foes defy'd,
And kept their liberty, or bravely dy'd.
Thou ſtill with tyrants in ſucceſſion curſt,
The laſt invaders trampling on the firſt:
Nor fondly hope for ſome reverſe of fate,
Virtue herſelf would now return too late.
Not half the courſe of miſery is run,
Thy greateſt evils yet are ſcarce begun.
Soon ſhall thy ſons, the time is juſt at hand,
Be all made captives in their native land;
When, for the uſe of no *Hibernian* born,
Shall riſe one blade of graſs, one ear of corn;
When ſhells and leather ſhall for money paſs,
Nor thy oppreſſing lords (11) afford the braſs.
But all turn leaſers to that (12) mongril breed,
Who from thee ſprung, yet on thy vitals feed;

Who

(10) The univerſity of *Dublin*, called *Trinity College*, was founded by queen *Elizabeth* in 1591.

(11) *Wood*'s ruinous project againſt the people of *Ireland*, was *ſupported by Sir Robert Walpole* in 1724.

(12) *The abſentees*, who ſpend the income of their *Iriſh* eſtates, *aces*, *and* penſions in *England.*

Who to yon rav'nous iſle thy treaſures bear,
And waſte in luxury thy harveſts there;
For pride and ignorance a proverb grown,
The jeſt of wits, and to the court unknown.

I ſcorn thy ſpurious and degenerate line,
And from this hour my patronage reſign.

To the Rev. Mr DANIEL JACKSON, to be humbly preſented by Mr SHERIDAN in Perſon, with Reſpect, Care, and Speed.

To be delivered by and with Mr SHERIDAN.

Dear DAN,

HERE I return my truſt, nor aſk
One penny for remittance;
If I have well perform'd my taſk,
Pray ſend me an acquittance.

Too long I bore this weighty pack,
As *Hercules* the ſky,
Now take him you, *Dan Atlas*, back,
Let me be ſtander-by.

Not all the wittty things you ſpeak,
In compaſs of a day;
Not half the puns you make a week,
Should bribe his longer ſtay.

With me you left him out at nurſe,
Yet are you not my debtor;
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With me you left him out at nurſe,
Yet are you not my debtor;
For, as he hardly can be worſe,
I ne'er could make him better.

He rhimes and puns, and puns and rhimes,
Juſt as he did before;
And when he's laſh'd a hundred times,
He rhimes and puns the more.

When rods are laid on ſchool-boys bums,
The more they friſk and ſkip:
The ſchool-boy's top but louder hums,
The more they uſe the whip.

Thus, a lean beaſt beneath a load,
(A beaſt of *Iriſh* breed)
Will, in a tedious dirty road,
Outgo the prancing ſteed.

You knock him down and down in vain,
And lay him flat before ye;
For, ſoon as he gets up again,
He'll ſtrut and cry, *Victoria!*

At ev'ry ſtroke of mine, he fell,
'Tis true he roar'd and cry'd;
But his impenetrable ſhell
Could feel no harm beſide.

The tortoiſe thus, with motion ſlow,
Will clamber up a wall;
Yet, ſenſeleſs to the hardeſt blow,
Gets nothing but a fall.

Dear *Dan*, then, why ſhould you or I
Attack his pericrany?
And ſince it is in vain to try,
We'll ſend him to *Delany*.

POSTSCRIPT.

Lean Tom, when I ſaw him, laſt week, on his horſe awry,
Threat'n'd loudly to turn me to ſtone with his ſorcery.
But,

But, I think, little *Dan*, that in ſpight of what our foe ſays,
He will find I read *Ovid*, and his metamorphoſis.
For omitting the firſt (where I make a compariſon,
With a ſort of alluſion to *Putland* or *Harriſon*)
Yet by my deſcription, you'll find he in ſhort is
A pack and a garran, a top and a tortoiſe.
So I hope from henceforward you ne'er will ask, can I maul
This teazing, conceited, rude, inſolent animal?
And, if this rebuke might turn to his benefit,
(For I pity the man) I ſhould then be glad of it.

A Copy of a Copy of Verſes from THOMAS SHERIDAN, Clerk, to GEORGE NIM-DAN-DEAN, Eſq; Written *July* 15th, 1721, at Night.

I'D have you t' know *George*, *Dan*, *Dean*, and *Nim*,
That I've learned how verſe t' compoſe trim,
Much better b'half th'n you, n'r you, n'r him,
And th't I'd rid'cule their, 'nd your flam flim,
Ay' b't then, p'rhaps ſays you, t's a m'rry whim
With 'bundance of mark't notes i' th' rim,
So th't I ought n't for t' be moroſe 'nd t' look grim,
Think n't your 'p'ſtle put m' in a meagrim;
Though, 'n rep't't'on day, I'ppear ver' ſlim,
Th' laſt bowl't *Helſham*'s did m' head t' ſwim,
So th't I h'd man' aches 'n 'v'ry ſcrubb'd limb,
Cauſe th' top of th' bowl I'h'd oft us'd t' skim;

And

1 GEORGE ROCHFORT, Eſq;
2 His brother JOHN ROCHFORT, called NIM, becauſe he was a great hunter, from NIMROD.
3 The Rev. Mr DANIEL JACKSON.
4 Dr SWIFT, dean of St *Patrick*'s.

And b'ſides 5 *D'lan'* ſwears th't I'h'd ſwall'w'd ſ'v'r'l brim-
mers, 'nd that my vis'ge's cov'r'd o'r with r'd pim-
ples: m'r'o'er though m' ſcull were (s'tis n't) 's ſtrong's tim-
er, 't muſt have ak'd. Th' clans of th' c'lledge Sanh'drim,
pres'nt th'r humbl' and 'fect'nate reſpects; that's t'ſay, *D'lan'*, *'chlin*, *P. Ludl'*, *Dic' St'wart*, *H'lſham*, capt'n *P'rr' Walmſ'ad* 6 longſh'nks *Timm.*

GEORGE NIM-DAN-DEAN, Eſq; to Mr SHERIDAN, on his Verſes, written July 15. 1721, at ten in the morning.

DEAR *Sheridan*; a loving pair
Of *Galſtown* lads * (for ſo they are)
Beſide a brace of grave divines,
Adore the ſmoothneſs of thy lines:
Smooth as our baſon's gentle flood,
Ere *George* had robb'd it of its mud.
Smoother than *Pegaſus'* old ſhoe,
'Ere *Vulcan* comes to make him new.
Compar'd with which (and that's enough)
A ſmoothing iron, itſelf is rough.

Nor praiſe we leſs that circumciſion,
By modern poets, call'd *Eliſion*;
Which in its proper ſtation plac'd,
Makes thy verſe ſmooth, and makes them laſt.
Thus a wiſe taylor is not pinching,
But turns, at every ſeam, an inch in.

Or,

5 Dr DELANY.

6 Mr STOPFORD of *Finglas*, miniſter of that pariſh, afterwards *biſhop of Cloyne.*

* *The county* ſeat of Lord Chief Baron ROCHFORT.

Or, elſe be ſure, your broad cloath breeches,
Will ne'er be ſmooth, nor hold the ſtitches.
Thy verſe like bricks, defy the weather,
When ſmooth'd by rubbing them together:
Thy words ſo cloſely wedg'd, and ſhort are,
Like walls, more laſting without mortar:
By leaving out the needleſs vowels,
You ſave the charge of lime and trowels.
One letter ſtill another locks;
Each groov'd, and dove-tail'd, like a box.
Thy muſe is tuck'd up, and ſuccinct;
In chains, thy ſyllables are link'd.
Thy words together ty'd in ſmall hanks,
Cloſe, as the *Macedonian* phalanx:
Or, like the umbo of the *Romans*,
Which fierceſt foes cou'd break by no means.
The critic to his coſt will find,
How firmly theſe indentures bind.
So in the kindred painter's art,
The ſhort'ning is the niceſt part.

Philologers of future ages
How will they pore upon thy pages?
Nor will they dare to break to joints,
But help thee to be read with points.
Or elſe, to ſhew their learned labour, you
May backward be perus'd like *Hebrew*.
Wherein they need not loſe a bit,
Or, of thy harmony, or wit.
To make a work compleatly fine,
Number, and weight, and meaſure join.
Then all muſt grant, your lines are weighty,
Where thirty weigh as much as eighty.
All muſt allow, your numbers more,
Where forty lines, exceed fourſcore.
Nor can we think your meaſure ſhort,
Where leſs than forty fill a quart.

With *Alexandrian* in the cloſe,
Long, long, long, long, like *Dan*'s long noſe.

A Dialogue between an eminent * Lawyer, and Dr SWIFT, D. S. P. D. Being an Alluſion to the Firſt Satyr of the Second Book of *Horace*,—*Sunt quibus in Satyra*, &c.

Written *February*, 1728.

SINCE there are perſons who complain
There's too much ſatyr in my vein,
That I am often found exceeding
The rules of raillery and breeding,
With too much freedom treat my betters,
Not ſparing even men of letters:
You, who are ſkill'd in lawyers lore,
What's your advice? Shall I give o'er,
Nor ever fools or knaves expoſe
Either in verſe or humrous proſe,
And to avoid all future ill,
In my 'ſcrutore lock up my quill?

Since you are pleas'd to condeſcend
To aſk the judgment of a friend,
Your caſe conſider'd, I muſt think
You ſhould withdraw from pen and ink,
Forbear your poetry and jokes,
And live like other Chriſtian folks;
Or, if the Muſes muſt inſpire
Your fancy with their pleaſing fire,
Take ſubjects ſafer for your wit,
Than thoſe on which you lately writ,

Commend

* *Mr* LINDSAY, who was afterwards a judge of the Common-Pleas.

Commend the times, your thoughts correct,
And follow the prevailing sect;
Assert that *Hyde* *, in writing story,
Shews all the malice of a Tory,
While *Burnet* † in his deathless page,
Discovers freedom without rage;
To *Woolston* ‡ recommend our youth
For learning, probity, and truth,
That noble genius who unbinds
The chains which fetter free-born minds,
Redeems us from the slavish fears
Which lasted near two thousand years;
He can alone the priesthood humble,
Make gilded spires and altars tumble.

Must I commend against my conscience
Such stupid blasphemy and nonsense?
To such a subject tune my lyre,
And sing like one of *Milton*'s choir,
Where devils to a vale retreat,
And call the laws of wisdom fate,
Lament upon their hapless fall,
That force free virtue should enthral?
Or, shall the charms of wealth and pow'r
Make me pollute the Muses bow'r?

As from the tripod of *Apollo*,
Hear from my desk the words that follow:
Some by philosophers misled,
Must honour you alive and dead;
And such as know what *Greece* hath writ
Must taste your irony and wit.

While

* Earl of *Clarendon*, who wrote of the civil wars begun in the year 1641.

† Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote the history of his own times, &c.

‡ A degraded clergyman of the church of *England*, who wrote against the miracles of our Saviour.

While moſt that are, or would be great,
Muſt dread your pen, your perſon hate,
And you on *Drapier*'s hill * muſt lye,
And there without a mitre dye.

PAULUS. By Mr LYNDSAY.

Dublin, Sept. 7, 1728.

A SLAVE to crowds, ſcorch'd with the ſummer's heats,
In courts the wretched lawyer toils and ſweats;
While ſmiling nature in her beſt attire,
Regales each ſenſe, and vernal joys inſpire.
Can he who knows that real good ſhould pleaſe,
Barter for gold his liberty and eaſe?
Thus *Paulus* preach'd:— When ent'ring at the door,
Upon his board a client pours the ore:
He graſps the ſhining gift, pores o'er the cauſe,
Forgets the ſun, and dozeth on the laws.

The ANSWER. By Dr SWIFT.

LYNDSAY miſtakes the matter quite,
And honeſt *Paulus* judges right.
Then, why theſe quarrels to the ſun,
Without whoſe aid you're all undone.
Did *Paulus* e'er complain of ſweat?
Did *Paulus* e'er the ſun forget?
The influence of whoſe golden beams,
Soon licks up all unſav'ry ſteams.
The ſun, you ſay, his face hath kiſt:
It has: but then it greas'd his fiſt.

True

* In the county of *Armagh*.

True lawyers for the wiſeſt ends,
Have always been *Apollo*'s friends.
Not for his ſuperficial powers
Of ripening fruits, or gilding flowers;
Not for inſpiring poets brains,
With pennyleſs and ſtarv'ling ſtrains;
Not for his boaſted healing art;
Not for his ſkill to ſhoot the dart;
Nor yet becauſe he ſweetly fiddles;
Nor for his prophecies in riddles:
But for a more ſubſtantial cauſe,
Apollo's patron of the laws;
Whom *Paulus* ever muſt adore,
As parent of the golden ore.

By *Phœbus* an inceſtuous birth,
Begot upon his grandame earth.
By *Phœbus* firſt produc'd to light,
By *Vulcan* form'd ſo round and bright;
Then offer'd at the ſhrine of Juſtice,
By clients to her prieſts and truſtees;
Nor, when we ſee *Aſtræa* ſtand
With even balance in her hand,
Muſt we ſuppoſe ſhe hath in view,
How to give ev'ry man his due;
Her ſcales, you ſee her only hold,
To weigh her prieſts, the lawyers gold.
Now ſhould I own your caſe was grievous,
Poor ſweaty *Paulus*, who'd believe us?
'Tis very true, and none denies,
At leaſt that ſuch complaints are wiſe;
'Tis wiſe no doubt, as clients fat ye more,
To cry, like ſtateſmen, *Quanta patimur?*

But, ſince the truth muſt needs be ſtretched,
To prove that lawyers are ſo wretched:

This paradox I'll undertake,
For *Paulus* and for *Lyndſay*'s ſake.
By topics, which tho' I abomine 'em,
May ſerve as arguments *ad hominem*;
Yet, I diſdain to offer thoſe
Made uſe of by detracting foes:
I own the curſes of mankind,
Sit light upon a lawyer's mind;
The clamours of ten thouſand tongues,
Break not his reſt, nor hurt his lungs.
I own, his conſcience always free,
Provided he has got his fee.
Secure of conſtant peace within,
He knows no guilt, who knows no ſin.
Yet, well they merit to be pitied,
By clients always over-witted.
And though the goſpel ſeems to ſay,
What heavy burdens lawyers lay,
Upon the ſhoulders of their neighbour,
Nor lend a finger to the labour.
Always for ſaving their own bacon,
No doubt the text is here miſtaken.
The copy's falſe, and ſenſe is rack'd,
To prove it, I appeal to fact;
And thus by demonſtration ſhew,
What burdens lawyers undergo,
With early clients at his door,
Tho' he was drunk the night before:
And, crop-ſick with unclub'd for wine,
The wretch muſt be at court by nine.
Half ſunk beneath his briefs and bag,
As ridden by a midnight hag:
Then from the bar harangues the bench,
In *Engliſh* vile, and viler *French*,

And *Latin*, vileſt of the three;
And all for poor ten moidores fee.
Of paper, how is he profuſe?
With periods long, in terms abſtruſe.
What pains he takes to be prolix?
A thouſand lines to ſtand for ſix!
Of common ſenſe without a word in,
And is not this a grievous burden?

The lawyer is a common drudge,
To fight our cauſe before the judge;
And what is yet a greater curſe,
Condemn'd to bear his client's purſe,
While he at eaſe, ſecure and light,
Walks boldly home at dead of night.
When term is ended leaves the town,
Trots to his country-manſion down;
And diſencumber'd of his load,
No danger dreads upon the road;
Deſpiſeth rapparees, and rides
Safe through the *Newry* mountains ſides.
Lyndſay, 'tis you have ſet me on,
To ſtate this queſtion *pro* and *con*.
My ſatyr may offend, 'tis true,
However, it concerns not you.

I own there may in every clan,
Perhaps be found one honeſt man;
Yet link them cloſe, in this they jump,
To be but ſharpers in the lump.
Imagine *Lyndſay* at the bar,
He's much the ſame his brethren are.
Well taught by practice to imbibe
The fundamentals of his tribe:
And in his client's juſt defence,
Muſt deviate oft from common ſenſe;

And make his ignorance diſcern'd,
To get the name of council learn'd.
As *Lucus* comes a *non Lucendo*,
And wiſely do as other men do,
But ſhift him to a better ſcene,
Among his crew of R——s in grain,
Surrounded with compaſſions fit,
To taſte his humour, ſenſe, and wit;
You'd ſwear he never took a fee,
Nor knew his law in A, B, C.
'Tis hard where dulneſs over-rules,
To keep good ſenſe in crowds of fools.
And we admire the man who ſaves
His honeſty in crowds of knaves;
Nor yields up virtue at diſcretion,
To V-ll ns of his own profeſſion.
Lyndſay, you know what pains you take,
In both, yet barely ſave your ſtake;
And will you venture both a-new,
To ſit among that venal crew,
That pack of mimick legiſlators,
Abandon'd, ſtupid, ſlaviſh praters?
For, as the rabble dawb and riſle
The fool who ſcrambles for a trifle,
Who for his pain is cuff'd and kick'd,
Drawn through the dirt, his pocket pick'd;
You muſt expect the like diſgrace,
Scrambling with rogues to get a place,
Muſt loſe the honour you have gain'd,
Your num'rous virtues foully ſtain'd:
Diſclaim for ever all pretence
To common honeſty and ſenſe,
And join in friendſhip with a ſtrict tye,
'To *****, ******, and **** *****.

On Dr RUNDLE biſhop of DERRY.

MAKE *Rundle* biſhop; fye for ſhame!
An *Arian* to uſurp the name!
A biſhop in the iſle of Saints!
How will his brethren make complaints?
Dare any of the mitred hoſt,
Confer on him the HOLY GHOST;
In mother-church to breed a variance,
By coupling *Orthodox* with *Arians*?

Yet, were he *Heathen*, *Turk*, or *Jew*,
What is there in it ſtrange or new?
For, let us hear the weak pretence,
His brethren find to take offence;
Of whom there are but four at moſt,
Who know there is an HOLY GHOST:
The reſt, who boaſt they have conferr'd it,
Like *Paul*'s *Epheſians*, never heard it;

And, when they gave it, well 'tis known,
They gave what never was their own.

RUNDLE a biſhop! well he may;
He's ſtill a *Chriſtian* more than they.

We know the ſubject of their quarrels;
The man has learning, ſenſe, and morals.

There is a reaſon ſtill more weighty;
'Tis granted he believes a deity:
Has ev'ry circumſtance to pleaſe us,
Though fools may doubt his faith in J——s
But why ſhould he with that be loaded,
Now twenty years from court exploded?
And, is not this objection odd
From rogues who ne'er believ'd a GOD?

For liberty a champion ſtout,
'Though not ſo goſpel-ward devout.
While others hither ſent to ſave us,
Came but to plunder and enſlave us;
Nor ever own'd a pow'r divine,
But *Mammon*, and the *G--n-e* line.

Say, how did *Rundle* undermine 'em:
Who ſhew'd a better *Jus divinum?*
From ancient canons would not vary,
But thrice refus'd *Epiſcopari.*

Our biſhop's predeceſſor *Magus*,
Would offer all the ſands of *Tagus*;
Or ſell his children, houſe, and lands,
For that one gift, to lay on hands:
But all his gold could not avail
To have the *Spirit* ſet to ſale.
Said ſurly *Peter*, *Magus*, prithee
Be gone: thy money periſh with thee.
Were *Peter* now alive, perhaps
He might have found a ſcore of chaps.
Could he but make his gift appear
In rents three thouſand pounds a year.

Some fancy this promotion odd,
As not the handy-work of GOD;
Though ev'n the biſhops diſappointed,
Muſt own it made by GOD's *Anointed.*
And well we know, the *Congee Regal*
Is more ſecure as well as legal.
Becauſe our lawyers all agree,
That biſhopricks are held in fee.

Dear *Baldwin* chaſte, and witty *Croſſe*,
How ſorely I lament your loſs?

That

That ſuch a pair of wealthy ninnies
Should ſlip your time of dropping guineas;
For, had you made the k—— your debtor,
Your title had been ſo much better.

The FABLE of the BITCHES.

Wrote in the Year 1715, on an Attempt to repeal the Teſt Act.

A BITCH that was full pregnant grown,
By all the dogs and curs in town;
Finding her ripen'd time was come,
Her litter teeming from her womb,
Went here and there, and ev'ry where,
To find an eaſy place to lay-her.

At length to *Muſick*'s houſe *(a)* ſhe came,
And begg'd like one both blind and lame;
"My only friend, my dear," ſaid ſhe,
"You ſee 'tis mere neceſſity,
"Hath ſent me to your houſe to whelp;
"I'll dye, if you deny your help."

With fawning whine, and rueful tone,
With artful ſigh and feigned groan,
With couchant cringe, and flattering tale,
Smooth *Bawty (b)* did ſo far prevail;
That *Muſick* gave her leave to litter,
But mark what followed,—Faith, ſhe bit her.

Whole baſkets full of bits and ſcraps,
And broth enough to fill her paps,
For well ſhe knew her num'rous brood,
For want of milk, would ſuck her blood.

But

(a) Muſick's houſe, the church of England.
(b) Bawty, (the name of a bitch in Scotch,) alludes to the high-

But when ſhe thought her pains were done,
And now 'twas high time to be gone;
In civil terms,——"My friend," ſays ſhe,
"My houſe you've had on courteſy;
"And now I earneſtly deſire,
"That you would with your cubs retire:
"For ſhould you ſtay but one week longer,
"I ſhall be ſtarv'd with cold and hunger."

The gueſt reply'd——"My friend, your leave
"I muſt a little longer crave;
"Stay till my tender cubs can find
"Their way——for now you ſee their blind;
"But when we've gather'd ſtrength, I ſwear,
"We'll to our barn again repair."

The time paſs'd on, and *Muſick* came,
Her kennel once again to claim;
But, *Bawty*, loſt to ſhame and honour,
Set all her cubs at once upon her;
Made her retire and quit her right,
And loudly cry'd——a bite, a bite.

The MORAL.

Thus did the *Grecian* wooden horſe,
Conceal a fatal armed force:
No ſooner brought within the walls,
But *Ilium*'s loſt, and *Priam* falls.

Copy of the BIRTH-DAY Verſes on Mr FORD.

COME be content, ſince out it muſt,
For *Stella* has betray'd her truſt,
And whiſp'ring charg'd me not to ſay,
That Mr Ford was born to day:

Or,

Or, if at laſt, I needs muſt blab it
According to my uſual habit,
She bid me with a ſerious face,
Be ſure conceal the time and place,
And not my compliment to ſpoil
By calling this your native ſoil,
Or vex the ladies when they knew,
That you are turning forty-two;
But, if theſe topicks ſhall appear
Strong arguments to keep you here,
I think, though you judge hardly of it,
Good manners muſt give place to profit.

The nymphs with whom you firſt began,
Are each become a *Harridan*;
And *Montague* ſo far decay'd,
Her lovers now muſt all be paid,
And ev'ry belle that ſince aroſe
Has her cotemporary beaux.
Your former comrades once ſo bright,
With whom you toaſted half the night,
Of rheumatiſm and pox complain,
And bid adieu to dear champain;
Your great protectors once in pow'r
Are now in exile or the tow'r.
Your foes triumphant o'er the laws,
Who hate your perſon and your cauſe,
If once they get you on the ſpot,
You muſt be guilty of the plot.
For true or falſe they'll ne'er inquire,
But uſe you ten times worſe than *Prior (a)*.

In *London*, what would you do there?
Can you, my friend, with patience bear,
Nay, would it not your paſſion raiſe
Worſe than a pun, or *Iriſh* phraſe;

To

(a) MAT. PRIOR, Eſq; a famous poet. See his works.

To ſee a ſcoundrel ſtrut and hector
A foot-boy to ſome rogue director;
To look on vice triumphant round,
And virtue trampled on the ground!
Obſerve where bloody —— ſtands
With torturing engines in his hands,
Hear him blaſpheme, and ſwear and rail,
Threat'ning the pillory and jail,
If this you think a pleaſing ſcene,
To *London* ſtrait return again,
Where you have told us from experience
Are ſwarms of bugs and preſbyterians.

I thought my very ſpleen would burſt,
When fortune hither drove me firſt;
Was full as hard to pleaſe as you,
Nor perſons, names, nor places knew:
But now I act as other fo'ke,
Like pris'ners when their jail is broke.

If you have *London* ſtill at heart,
We'll make a ſmall one here, by art:
The diff'rence is not much between
St *James's Park* and *Stephen's Green*;
And *Dawſon-ſtreet* will ſerve as well
To lead you thither, as *Pall-mall*,
Nor want a paſſage through the palace,
To choak your ſight, and raiſe your malice.
The deanry-houſe may well be matcht
(Under correction) with the *Thatcht (a)*,
Nor ſhall I, when you hither come,
Demand a crown a quart for ſtumm.
Then for a middle-aged chamber,
Stella may vye with your main charmer,

She's

(a) A famous tavern in St *James's-ſtreet* near the palace.

She's now as handſome ev'ry bit,
And has a thouſand times her wit.
The dean and *Sheridan*, I hope,
Will half ſupply a *Gay* and *Pope*,
*Corbet**, though yet I know his worth not,
No doubt, will prove a good *Arbuthnot*;
I throw into the bargain, *Tim*.
In *London* can you equal him?
What think you of my fav'rite clan,
Robin and *Jack*, and *Jack* and *Dan*†?
Fellows of modeſt worth and parts,
With chearful looks, and honeſt hearts.

Can you on *Dublin* look with ſcorn?
Yet here were you and *Ormond* ‡ born.

Oh! were but you and I ſo wiſe,
To ſee with *Robert Gratton*'s eyes,
Robin adores that ſpot of earth,
That lit'ral ſpot which gave him birth.
And ſwears *Belcamp* ‖ is to his taſte,
As fine as *Hampton-Court* at leaſt.
When to your friends you would enhance
The praiſe of *Italy*, or *France*.
For grandeur, elegance, and wit,
We gladly hear you and ſubmit:
But then to come and keep a clutter,
For this or that ſide of a gutter.
To live in this or t'other iſle,
We cannot think it worth your while;
For take it kindly or amiſs,
The diff'rence but amounts to this,

We

* Dr *Corbet* afterwards dean of St *Patrick*'s cathedral, *Dublin*, on the death of Dr *Saturine*, who ſucceeded Dr *Swift*.

‡ Rev. *Robert* and *John Grafton*, brothers; *John* and *Daniel Jackſon*.

† *James Butler*, the late Duke of *Ormond*.

‖ In *Fingal*, about five miles from *Dublin*.

We bury, on our ſide the channel,
In linen*, and on yours in flannel;
You, for the news are ne'er to ſeek,
While we, perhaps, may wait a week:
You, happy folks, are ſure to meet
An hundred whores in ev'ry ſtreet,
While we may trace all *Dublin* o'er
Before we find out half a ſcore.

You ſee my arguments are ſtrong,
I wonder you held out ſo long.
But ſince you are convinc'd at laſt,
We'll pardon you for what is paſt.
So ——— let us now for whiſt prepare,
Twelve pence a corner if you dare.

A PETITION to his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.

Non Domus et Fundus ——— HOR.

By Dean SMEDLEY.

IT was, my lord, the dex'trous ſhift
Of t'other *Jonathan*, viz. *Swift*,
But now St *Patrick*'s ſaucy dean,
With ſilver verge, and ſurplice clean,
Of *Oxford*, or of *Ormond*'s grace
In looſer rhyme to beg a place.
A place he got, yclep'd a ſtall,
And eke a thouſand pounds withal;
And, were he a leſs witty writer,
He might as well have got a mitre.

Thus I the *Jonathan* of *Clogher*,
In humble lays my thanks to offer,

Approach

* *In* the year 1733, there was an act of parliament made in *Ireland to bury in* woollen.

Approach your grace with grateful heart,
My thanks and verſe devoid of art,
Content with what your bounty gave,
No larger income do I crave:
Rejoicing that in better times
*Grafton** require my loyal lines.
Proud! while my patron is polite,
I likewiſe to the patriot write.
Proud! that at once I can commend
King *George*'s and the Muſe's friend,
Endear'd to *Britain* and to thee,
(Disjoin'd *Hibernia*, by the ſea)
Endear'd by twice three anxious years,
Employ'd in guardian toils and cares:
By love, by wiſdom, and by ſkill,
For he has ſav'd thee 'gainſt thy will.

But where ſhall *Smedly* make his neſt,
And lay his wand'ring head to reſt?
Where ſhall he find a decent houſe
To treat his friends, and chear his ſpouſe?
Oh! lack, my lord, ſome pretty cure,
In wholeſome ſoil, and æther pure;
The garden ſtor'd with artleſs flowers,
In either angle ſhady bowers.
No gay *Parterre* with coſtly green,
Within the ambient hedge be ſeen:
Let nature freely take her courſe,
Nor fear from one ungrateful force;
No ſheers ſhall check her ſprouting vigour,
Nor ſhape the yews to antic figure:
A limpid brook ſhall trouts ſupply,
In *May* to take the mimic fly;
Round a ſmall orchard may it run,
Whoſe apples redden to the ſun.

* CHARLES FITSROY, Duke of *Grafton*, then Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Let all be ſnug, and warm, and neat,
For fifty turn'd a ſafe retreat.
A little *Euſton* may it be,
Euſton I'll carve on ev'ry tree.
But then to keep it in repair,
My lord——— *twice fifty pounds* a year
Will barely do; but if your Grace
Could make them *hundreds*——— charming place!
Thou then would'ſt ſhew another face.
Clogher! far north, my lord, it lies,
'Midſt ſnowy hills inclement ſkies;
One ſhivers with the *artic* wind,
One hears the *polar axis* grind.
Good *John* * indeed with beef and claret,
Makes the place warm that one may bear it.
He has a purſe to keep a table,
And eke a ſoul as hoſpitable.
My heart is good; but aſſets fail,
To fight with ſtorms of ſnow and hail;
Beſides the country's thin of people,
Who ſeldom meet, but at the ſteeple:
The ſtrapping dean, that's gone to *Down*,
Ne'er nam'd the thing without a frown,
When much fatigu'd with ſermon ſtudy,
He felt his brain grow dull and muddy;
No fit companion could be found
To puſh the lazy bottle round;
Sure then, for want of better folks,
To pledge *his clerk* was *orthodox*.

Ah! how unlike to *Gerard-ſtreet*,
Where beaux and belles in parties meet;
Where gilded chairs and coaches throng,
And joſtle as they trowl along;

Where

* Dr JOHN STERNY, biſhop of *Clogher*, predeceſſor to Dr *SWIFT*, as dean of St *Patrick's*.

Where tea and coffee hourly flow,
And gape-ſeed does in plenty grow,
And *Griz* (no clock more certain) cries
Exact at ſeven, *Hot mutton pies.*
There lady *Luna* in her ſphere
Once ſhone, when *Paunchforth* was not near;
But now ſhe wains, and, as 'tis ſaid,
Keeps ſober hours, and goes to bed.
There ——— but 'tis endleſs to write down
All the amuſements of the town;
And ſpouſe will think herſelf quite undone,
To trudge to *Connor* * from ſweet *London.*
And care we muſt our wives to pleaſe
Or —— elſe we ſhall be ill at eaſe.

You ſee, my lord, what 'tis I lack,
'Tis only ſome convenient tack,
Some parſonage-houſe, with garden ſweet,
To be my late, my laſt retreat;
A decent church cloſe by its ſide,
There preaching, praying, to reſide;
And, as my time ſecurely rolls,
To ſave my own and others ſouls.

His GRACE'S Anſwer.

By Dr SWIFT.

DEAR *Smed*, I read thy brilliant lines,
Where wit in all its glory ſhines;
Where compliments with all their pride
Are by their numbers dignify'd:
I hope, to make you yet as clean,
As that ſame, *viz.* St *Patrick*'s dean:
I'll give thee *ſurplice*, *verge*, and *ſtall*,
And may be ſomething elſe withal;

* *Connor* is united to the biſhopric of *Down*; but here are two deans.

And were you not ſo good a writer,
I ſhould preſent you with a mitre.
Write worſe then, *if you can*—Be wiſe—
Believe me, 'tis *the way to riſe.*
Talk not of *making of thy neſt,*
Ah! never lay thy head to reſt!
That head ſo well with wiſdom fraught!
That writes without the toil of thought.
While others rack their buſy brains,
You are not in the leaſt at pains.
Down to your deanery repair,
And build *a caſtle in the air.*
I'm ſure a man of your fine ſenſe
Can do it with a ſmall expence.
There your *dear ſpouſe*, and you together,
May breathe your bellies full of *æther.*
When lady *Luna* is your neighbour,
She'll help your *wife* when ſhe's in labour.
Well ſkill'd in midwife-artifices,
For ſhe herſelf oft' *falls in pieces.*
There you ſhall ſee a *rary-ſhow*,
Will make you ſcorn this *world below*,
When you behold the milky way,
As white as ſnow, as bright as day,
The glitt'ring conſtellations roll
About the grinding *artic* pole.
The lovely tingling in your ears,
Wrought by the muſic of the ſpheres——
Your ſpouſe ſhall then no longer hector,
You need not fear a curtain-lecture;
Nor ſhall ſhe think that ſhe's *undone*
For quitting her beloved *London.*
When ſhe's exalted in the ſkies,
She'll never think of mutton-pies;
When you're advanc'd above *dean*, viz.
You'll never think of goody *Grix.*

But

But ever, ever live at eaſe,
And ſtrive, and ſtrive *your wife to pleaſe*;
In her you'll center all your joys,
And get ten thouſand *girls* and *boys*;
Ten thouſand girls and boys you'll get,
And they, like ſtars, ſhall *riſe* and *ſet*.
While *you and ſpouſe* transform'd, ſhall ſoon
Be a *new ſun*, and a *new moon*:
Nor ſhall you ſtrive your horns to hide,
For then your horns ſhall be your pride.

Dean SWIFT at Sir ARTHUR ACHESON'S in the North of IRELAND.

THE dean would viſit *Market-Hill*,
Our invitation was but ſlight;
I ſaid,—Why let him, if he will,
And ſo I bid Sir *A——r* write.

His manners would not let him wait,
Leſt we ſhould think ourſelves neglected;
And ſo we ſaw him at our gate,
Three days before he was expected.

After a week, a month, a quarter,
And day ſucceeding after day,
Says not a word of his departure,
Though not a ſoul would have him ſtay.

I've ſaid enough to make him bluſh,
Methink's, or elſe the devil's in't;
But, he cares not for it a ruſh,
Nor, for my life, will take the hint.

But you, my dear, may let him know,
In civil language, if he ſtays,
How deep and foul the roads may grow,
And that he may command the chaiſe.

Or you may ſay —— my wife intends,
Though I ſhould be exceeding proud,
This winter to invite ſome friends,
And, Sir, I know, you hate a crowd.

Or, Mr Dean — I ſhould with joy
Beg you would here continue ſtill,
But we muſt go to *Aghnacloy* *,
Or, Mr *Moore* will take it ill.

The houſe accompts are daily riſing,
So much his ſtay doth ſwell the bills;
My deareſt life, it is ſurpriſing,
How much he eats, how much he ſwills.

His brace of puppies how they ſtuff,
And they muſt have three meals a day,
Yet never think they get enough;
His horſes too eat all our hay.

Oh! if I could, how I would maul
His tallow face and wainſcot paws,
His beetle-brows, and eyes of wall,
And make him ſoon give up the cauſe.

Muſt I be every moment chid
With ſkinny bonia, ſnip and lean †;
Oh! that I could but once be rid
Of this inſulting tyrant dean!

The STORM; MINERVA'S Petition.

PALLAS, a goddeſs chaſte and wiſe,
Deſcending lately from the skies,
To *Neptune* went, and begg'd in form
He'd give his orders for a ſtorm;

A ſtorm,

* *The ſeat of* ACHESON MOORE, Eſq;
† *The Dean uſed to call Lady Acheſon by thoſe names.*

A ſtorm, to drown that raſcal ——,
And ſhe wou'd kindly thank him for't.
A wretch! whom *E—gl—b* rogues to ſpite her,
Had lately honour'd with a M—tre.

The god, who favour'd her requeſt,
Aſſur'd her he wou'd do his beſt:
But *Venus* had been there before,
Pleaded the B —— lov'd a w——,
And had enlarg'd her empire wide,
He own'd no deity beſide.
At ſea, or land, if e'er you found him,
Without a miſtreſs, hang or drown him.
Since *B—rn—t*'s death, the ———'s bench,
'Till — —— arriv'd ne'er kept a wench;
If — muſt ſink, ſhe grieves to tell it,
She'll not have left one ſingle prelate:
For, to ſay truth, ſhe did intend him,
Elect of *Cyprus* in *commendam*.
And ſince her birth the ocean gave her,
She could not doubt her uncle's favour.

Then *Proteus* urg'd the ſame requeſt,
But half in earneſt, half in jeſt;
Said he —— "Great ſovereign of the main,
"To drown him all attempts are vain,
"—— can aſſume more forms than I,
"A rake, a bully, pimp, or ſpy.
"Can creep, or run, can fly or ſwim,
"All motions are alike to him:
"Turn him adrift, and you ſhall find
"He knows to ſail with ev'ry wind;
"Or, throw him overboard he'll ride
"As well againſt, as with the tide.
"But, *Pallas*, you've apply'd too late,
"For 'tis decreed by *Jove* and fate,

"That

" That *Ireland* muſt be ſoon deſtroy'd,
" And who but ——— can be employ'd?
" You need not then have been ſo pert,
" In ſending *Bolton* * to *Clonfert*.
" I found you did it by your grinning;
" Your bus'neſs is to mind your ſpinning.
" But how you came to interpoſe,
" In making B ——— s, no one knows;
" And, if you muſt have your petition,
" There's *Berkley* † in the ſame condition;
" Look, there he ſtands, and 'tis but juſt
" If one muſt drown, the other muſt;
" But, if you'll leave us B ——— p *Judas*,
" We'll give you *Berkely* for *Bermudas* ‡.
" Now, if 'twill gratify your ſpight,
" To put him in a plaguy fright,
" Although 'tis hardly worth the coſt,
" You ſoon ſhall ſee him ſoundly toſt.
" You'll find him ſwear, blaſpheme, and damn,
" And ev'ry moment take a dram,
" His ghoſtly viſage with an air
" Of reprobation and deſpair:
" Or, elſe ſome hiding hole he ſeeks,
" For fear the reſt ſhou'd ſay he ſqueeks;
" Or, as *Fitzpatrick* || did before,
" Reſolve to periſh with his W——;
" Or, elſe he raves, and roars, and ſwears,
" And, but for ſhame, wou'd ſay his pray'rs.
" Or, wou'd you ſee his ſpirits ſink?
" Relaxing downwards in a ſt——k?

" If

* Dr THEOPHILUS BOLTON, afterwards archbiſhop of *Caſhell*.

† Dr GEORGE BERKELEY, a ſenior fellow of *Trinity College*, *Dublin*, from whence he was made dean of *Derry*, and afterwards biſhop of *Cloyne*.

‡ See his ſcheme in his miſcellanies for erecting an univerſity at *Bermudas*.

|| Brigadier FITZPATRICK was drowned in one of the packet boats in the bay of *Dublin* in a great ſtorm.

" If ſuch a fight as this can pleaſe ye,
" Good madam *Pallas*, pray be eaſy,
" To *Neptune* ſpeak, and he'll conſent;
" But he'll come back the knave he went."

The goddeſs, who conceiv'd an hope,
That —— was deſtin'd to a rope,
Believ'd it beſt to condeſcend
To ſpare a foe, to ſave a friend:
But, fearing *Berkeley* might be ſear'd,
She left him virtue for a guard.

The END *of the Tenth* VOLUME.